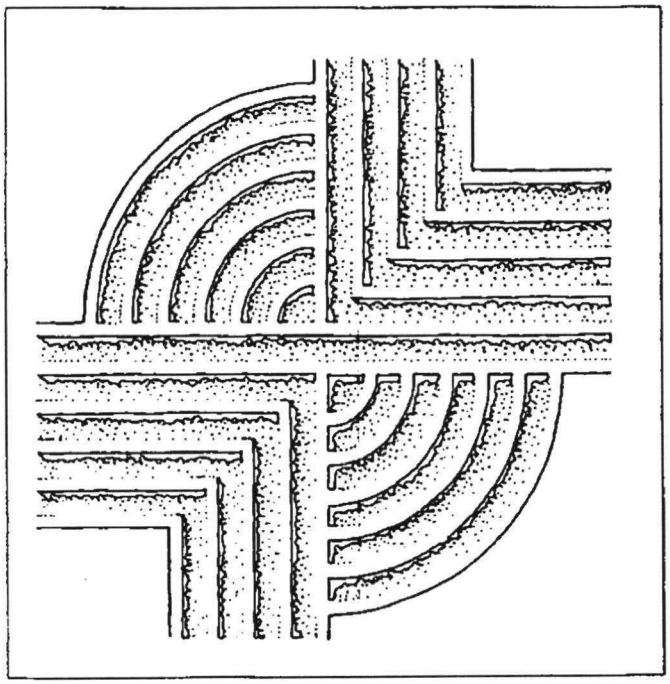
AN INTENSIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE FORT LAMAR WATER BATTERY AND CONFEDERATE ENCAMPMENT ON THE SECESSIONVILLE CLARK'S POINT TRACT, JAMES ISLAND, CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 200

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted at the request of Mr. John Templeton of Martschink Realty of Charleston, South Carolina. The study tract consists of the portion of the Secessionville peninsula north of what is known as Fort Lamar Road (S-385), and is situated on the eastern edge of James Island, between Seaside Creek and Clark's Point to the north and Secessionville Creek to the south.

The study included an intensive archaeological survey of the 11 acre tract, as well as background research which included a very brief historical examination of resources at the Charleston Register of Mesne Conveyances and the South Carolina Historical Society, examination of the site files at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and a request for information from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

As a result of these investigations two previously recorded sites, 38CH1457 and 38CH1462, were identified on the study tract.

Archaeological site **38CH1457** represents a multi-component site which contains a diffuse and ephemeral scatter of highly eroded prehistoric pottery intermixed with a previously identified loci of nineteenth century Civil War remains. The historic remains, occurring more often than the prehistoric pottery, have two concentrations. The prehistoric component of the site is recommended by this study to be not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The historic component is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, pending the concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office.

Archaeological site **38CH1462** represents the remains of the Fort Lamar water battery on Clark's Point. Located on the eastern shoreline of the Secessionville peninsula, these remains are in the form of raised earthworks and a low depression, probably representing an unfinished bombproof. They also include a small quantity of nineteenth century artifacts recovered from subsurface testing. The site is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, pending the concurrence of the State Historic Preservation Office.

As always, it is possible that additional, but unidentified, resources may exist on the survey tract. Consequently, Martschink Realty is cautioned that if any archaeological or historical remains are identified during construction, all work should immediately cease and the identified remains should be reported to either Chicora Foundation or the State Historic Preservation Office.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley and Mr. William B. Barr of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. John Templeton of Martschink Realty Company of Charleston, South Carolina. Martschink Realty is currently anticipating the development of approximately 11 acres of the Secessionville tract northeast of Fort Lamar Road (S-385) on James Island in Charleston County, South Carolina (Figure 1).

The development's preliminary plans involve creating relatively large lots for single family homes. Given the layout of the property this will likely require access roads to open some sections of the tract. Although the majority of the tract has been a cultivated field in the past, the proposed undertaking will involve clearing and grubbing for roads and utility rights-of-way, as well as the clearing for the construction of homes in some areas. This parcel is a small peninsula, known as Clark's Point, and is bounded to the north and west by the marshes of Seaside Creek. The eastern portion is bounded by Clark's Sound, formed at the confluence of Seaside Creek and Secessionville Creek The southern portion is bounded by the marshes of Secessionville Creek, as well as by an artificial property line which separates the survey tract from approximately 5 acres to the east and southeast which is already under private ownership and is therefore not incorporated into this study.

This work will clearly have the potential to impact any archaeological sites which might be present in the project area. Consequently, Chicora Foundation was retained to conduct this intensive archaeological survey to allow the developer to obtain S.C. Coastal Council certification. This study is intended to provide an overview of the archival research and the archaeological survey of the tract sufficient to allow the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office to determine the eligibility of sites for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

In addition, this study will provide a detailed explanation of the archaeological survey of the parcel, and the findings. The statewide archaeological site files held by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) were examined for information pertinent to the project area. Two previously recorded archaeological sites in the project area were identified and will be discussed in a subsequent section. No additional sites were encountered in their survey. Chicora Foundation initiated contact with the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) concerning any National Register buildings, districts, structures, sites, or objects in the project area, as well as the results of any structures surveys on file with that office on November 19. The S.C. SHPO responded that the study area was either on the edge or just within the Secessionville Historic District.

The archaeological survey was conducted by Chicora research archaeologist William B. Barr, with the assistance of archaeologist technician John D. Hamer, on November 20-21, 1996. Field work conditions were good over most of the tract, although the peripheral edges were heavily overgrown, limiting mobility and visibility. A total of 35 person hours were devoted to the study. Historical research was conducted on August 8. The site files were updated at SCIAA on December 6 and the laboratory process of the collections was conducted at the Chicora Foundation laboratories on November 26.

Goals

The primary goals of this study were, first, to identify the archaeological resources of the tract, second, to assess the condition and accurately define the location of earthworks associated with the Fort Lamar water battery, and third, to assess

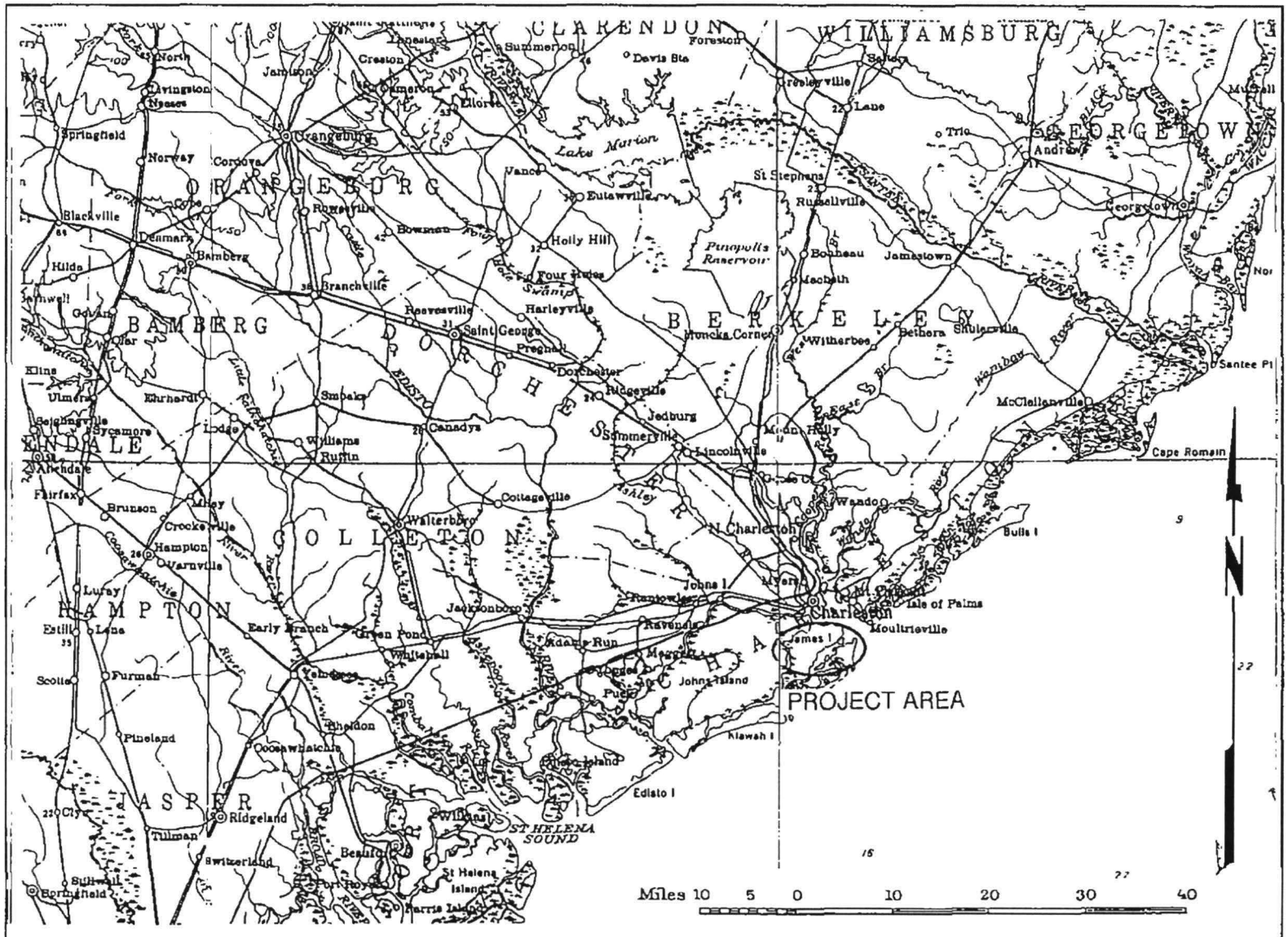

Figure 1. Location of the Secessionville Clark's Point project in the Charleston County area.

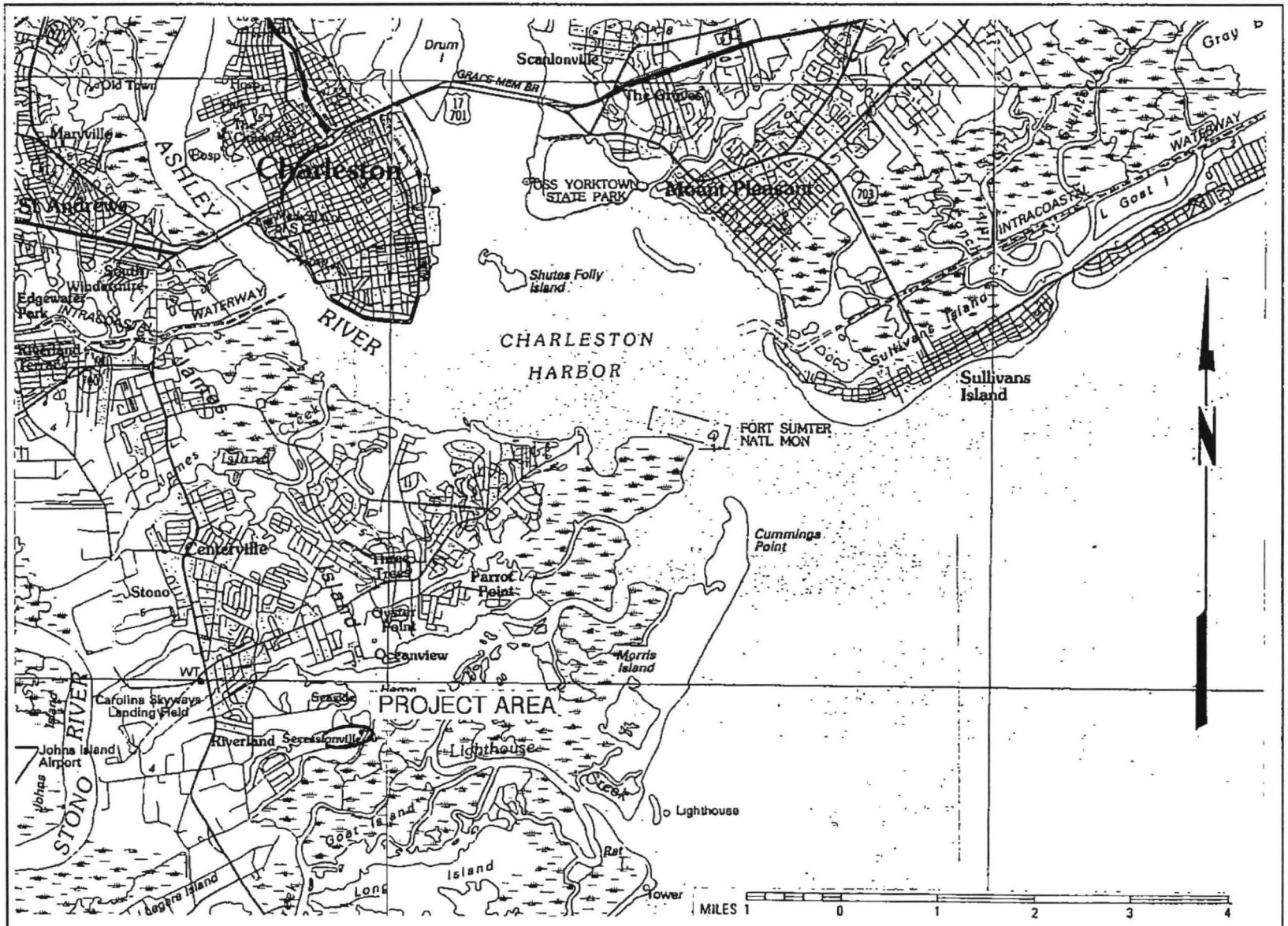

Figure 2. Vicinity of the Secessionville Clark's Point survey tract on southern James Island.

the ability of these sites to contribute significant archaeological, historical or anthropological data. The third aspect essentially involves the sites' eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, although Chicora Foundation only provides an opinion ofNational Register eligibility and the final determination is made by the lead compliance agency in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Curation

The field notes and artifacts from Chicora's survey of the Clark's Point portion of Secessionville have been curated at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA). The artifacts have been cleaned and/or conserved as necessary and have been curated using the SCIAA site numbers following that institution's provenience system. All original records and duplicate records were provided to the curatorial facility on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper. The only photographic materials present were a series of color prints intended for use in this survey. Since these materials cannot be processed to archival standards, they have been temporarily retained by Chicora Foundation, Inc.

EXTANT ENVIRONMENT

Physiography

Charleston County is located in the lower Atlantic Coastal Plain of South Carolina and is bounded to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and a series of marsh, barrier, and sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:133). Elevations in the County range from sea level to about 70 feet above mean sea level (AMSL).

In the project area elevations range from about 5 to 10 feet AMSL (Figure 3). It forms a peninsula, which while very constricted to the west, widens in the project area, becoming about 3200 feet in width. In general, the area is very level, representing a slightly elevated sand ridge running roughly east-west. The topography slopes to the north, toward the marshes of Seaside Creek, and to the south, toward the marshes of Secessionville Creek.

The project area is situated entirely to the north of a paved road, known locally as Fort Lamar Road, which bisects the peninsula. North of the survey tract is the tidal marsh associated with Seaside Creek. To the east is Clark's Sound formed at the confluence of Seaside Creek and Secessionville Creek. To the south are individual properties which include the Rivers, Seabrook, and Freer-Seabrook houses. Another slough, draining northward into Seaside Creek, forms the western boundary of the survey area.

The project area is typical of James Island which consists of large sandy plains interrupted by marsh and tidal creeks. The mainland topography, which consists of similar subtle ridge and bay undulations, is characteristic of beach ridge plains. Seven major drainages are found in Charleston County. Four of these, the Wando, Ashley, Stono, and North Edisto, are dominated by tidal flows and are saline. The three with significant freshwater flow are the Santee, forming the northern boundary of the County, the South Edisto, forming the southern boundary, and the Cooper, which bisects the County. Because of the low topography, many broad, low-gradient drains are present as either extensions of the tidal rivers or as flooded bays and swales. Examples of these are present in the project area, and include the slough found on the western boundary.

Geology and Soils

Coastal Plain geological formations are unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of very recent age (Pleistocene and Holocene) lying unconformably on ancient crystalline rocks (Cooke 1936; Miller 1971:74). The Pleistocene sediments are organized into topographically distinct, but lithologically similar, geomorphic units, or terraces, parallel to the coast. The project area is identified by Cooke (1936) as part of the Pamlico terrace, which includes the land between the recent shore and an abandoned shore line about 25 feet AMSL. Cooke (1936:7) notes that evidence of ancient beaches and swales can still be seen in the Pamlico formation and this likely contributed to the ridge and trough topography present in much of the area.

Within the coastal zone the soils are Holocene and Pleistocene in age and were formed from materials that were deposited during the various stages of coastal submergence. The formation of soils in the study area is affected by this parent material (primarily sands and clays), the temperate climate, the various soil organisms, topography, and time.

The mainland soils are Pleistocene in age and tend to have more distinct horizon development and diversity than the younger soils of the sea and barrier islands. Sandy to loamy soils predominate in the level to gently sloping mainland areas. The island soils are less diverse and less well developed, frequently lacking a well-defined B horizon. Organic matter is low and the soils tend

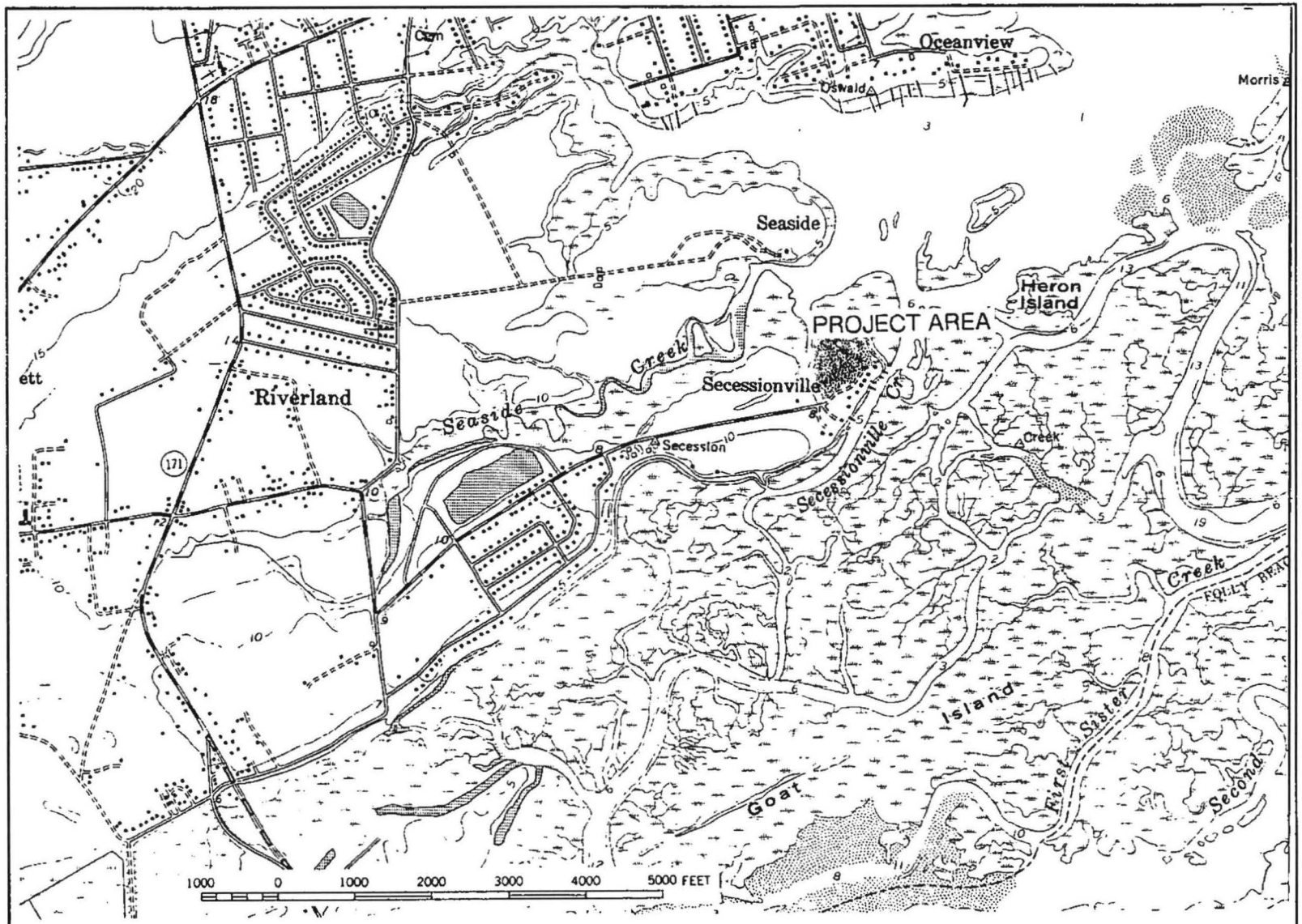

Figure 3. Portion of the James Island 7.5' USGS topographic map showing the project area.

to be acidic. The Holocene deposits typical of barrier islands and found as a fringe on some sea islands, consist almost entirely of quartz sand which exhibits little organic matter. Tidal marsh soils are Holocene in age and consist of fine sands, clay, and organic matter deposited over older Pleistocene sands. The soils are frequently covered by up to 2 feet of saltwater during high tides. Historically, marsh soils have been used as compost or fertilizer for a variety of crops, including cotton (Hammond 1884:510) and Allston mentions that the sandy soil of the coastal region, "bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost" (Allston 1854:13).

Only two soil series occur in the project area: Seabrook loamy fine sands and Wando loamy fine sands. The Wando soils dominate the area, with the Seabrook soils found only in the southeastern quadrant of the project area, primarily adjacent to Fort Lamar Road (Miller 1971: Maps 69 and 70). The Seabrook soils typically have an Ap horizon about 0.8 foot in depth which consists of a very dark grayish-brown (10YR3/2) loamy fine sand overlying a C1 horizon of dark-brown (10YR4/3) sand to a depth of about 1.8 feet (Miller 1971:27). The Wando soils present a very similar profile with an Ap horizon of dark brown (10YR4/3) sand to 0.8 foot overlying a C1 horizon of brown (7.5YR5/4) sand to about 2.8 feet (Miller 1971:30). The primary difference between the two is that the Wando soils are excessively drained while the Seabrook soils are moderately well drained. In addition, the Seabrook soils tend to be more acidic than the Wando soils.

Climate

John Lawson described South Carolina in 1700 as having, "a sweet Air, moderate Climate, and fertile Soil" (Lefler 1967:86). Of course, Lawson tended to romanticize Carolina. In December 1740 Robert Pringle remarked that Charleston was having "hard frosts & Snow" characterized as "a great Detriment to the Negroes" (Edgar 1972:282), while in May 1744 Pringle states, "the weather having already Come in very hott" (Edgar 1972:685).

The major climatic controls of the area are latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones. Charleston's latitude of 32°37'N places it on the edge of the balmy subtropical climate typical of Florida, further south. As a result, there are relatively short, mild winters and long, warm, humid summers. The large amount of nearby warm ocean water surface produces a marine climate, which tends to moderate both the cold and hot weather. The Appalachian Mountains, about 220 miles to the northwest, block the shallow cold air masses from the northwest, moderating them before they reach the sea islands (Mathews et al. 1980:46).

The average high temperature in the Charleston in July is 81°F, although temperatures are frequently in the 90s during much of July (Kjerfve 1975:C-4). Mills noted:

> in the months of June, July, and August, 1752, the weather in Charleston was warmer than any of the inhabitants before had ever experienced. The mercury in the shade often rose above 90°, and for nearly twenty successive days varied between that an 101° (Mills 1972:444).

The area normally experiences a high relative humidity, adding greatly to the discomfort. Kjerfve (1975:C-5) found an annual mean value of 73.5% RH, with the highest levels occurring during the summer. Pringle remarked in 1742 that guns "sufferr'd with the Rust by Lying so Long here, & which affects any Kind of Iron Ware, much more in this Climate than in Europe" (Edgar 1972:465).

The annual rainfall in this portion of Charleston is about 49 inches, fairly evenly spaced over the year. While adequate for most crops, there may be periods of both excessive rain and drought. The Charleston area has recorded up to 20 inches of rain in a single month and the rainfall over a three month period has exceeded 30 inches no less than nine times in the past 37 years. Likewise, periods of draught can occur and cause considerable damage to crops and livestock. Mills remarks that the "Summer of 1728 was

uncommonly hot; the face of the earth was completely parched; the pools of standing water dried up, and the field reduced to the greatest distress" (Mills 1972:447-448). Another significant historical drought occurred in 1845, affecting both the Low and Up Country.

The annual growing season is 295 days, one of the longest in South Carolina. This mild climate, adequate rainfall, and long growing season, as Hilliard (1984:13) notes, is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as cotton and sugar cane.

Floristics

The area of the study tract exhibits two major ecosystems: the maritime forest ecosystem which consists of the upland forest areas, and the estuarine ecosystem of deep water tidal habitats (Sandifer et al. 1980:7-9).

The maritime forest ecosystem has been found to consist of five principal forest types, including the Oak-Pine forests, the Mixed Oak Hardwood forests, the Palmetto forests, the Oak thickets, and other miscellaneous wooded areas (such as salt marsh thickets and wax myrtle thickets).

Of these the Oak-Pine forests are most common, constituting large areas of Charleston's original forest community. In some areas palmetto becomes an important sub-dominant. Typically these forests are dominated by the laurel oak with pine (primarily loblolly with minor amounts of longleaf pine) as the major canopy co-dominant. Hickory is present, although uncommon. Other trees found are the sweet gum and magnolia, with sassafras, red bay, American holly, and wax myrtle and palmetto found in the understory.

Mills, in the early nineteenth century, remarked that:

> South Carolina is rich in native and exotic productions; the varieties of its soil, climate, and geological positions, afford plants of rare, valuable, and medicinal qualities; fruits of a luscious, refreshing, and nourishing nature; vines and shrubs of exquisite beauty, fragrance, and luxuriance, and forest trees of noble growth, in great variety (Mills 1972:66).

The loblolly pine was called the "pitch or Frankincense Pine" and was used to produce tar and turpentine; the longleaf pine was "much used in building and for all other domestic purposes;" trees such as the red bay and red cedar were often used in furniture making and cedar was a favorite for posts; and live oaks were recognized as yielding "the best of timber for ship building;" (Mills 1972:66-85). Mills also observed that:

> in former years cypress was much used in building, but the difficulty of obtaining it now, compared with the pine, occasions little of it to be cut for sale, except in shape of shingles; the cypress is a most valuable wood for durability and lightness. Besides the two names we have cedar, poplar, beech, oak, and locust, which are or may be also used in building (Mills 1972:460).

The "Oak and hickory high lands" according to Mills were, "well suited for corn and provisions, also for indigo and cotton" (Mills 1972:443). The value of these lands in the mid-1820s was from $10 to $20 per acre, less expensive than the tidal swamp or inland swamp lands (where rice and, with drainage, cotton could be grown).

Today, virtually all of the project area's high ground evidences some form or another of disturbance, with much of this disturbance clearly being agricultural in nature (Figure 4). Portions of the study tract contain scrub hardwoods, representing idle fields allowed to naturally go out of cultivation (Figure 5).

The estuarine ecosystem in the vicinity includes those areas of deep water tidal habitats and adjacent tidal wetlands, found at the northern,

Figure 4. Fallow fields on Clark's Point, looking to the north.

Figure 5. Dense second growth vegetation in the project area, looking to the east.

eastern and western edge of the project. Salinity in these areas may range from 0.5 parts per thousand (ppt) at the head of an estuary to 30 ppt where it comes into contact with the ocean. Estuarine systems are influenced by ocean tides, precipitation, fresh water runoff from the upland areas, evaporation, and wind. The system may be subdivided into two major components: subtidal and intertidal (Sandifer et al. 1980:158-159). These estuarine systems are extremely important to our understanding of both prehistoric and historic occupations because they naturally contain a high biomass. The estuarine area contributes vascular flora used for basket making, as well as mammals, birds, fish (over 107 species), and shellfish.

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Previous Research

There are, of course, a number of previously published archaeological studies available for the Charleston area to provide background (see Derting et al. 1991 for references to research in the Charleston area). Trinkley (1980), for example, provides detailed analysis of excavations at the nearby Lighthouse Point Shell Ring, about 2 miles to the northeast, while Trinkley (1984) provides a brief overview of the archaeology of Sol Legare Island, about 2 miles to the southwest.

In 1990 the Fort Lamar site was recorded as archaeological site 38CH1271. The site boundaries included the primary fortifications, as well as much of the battlefield (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1271 site form). Although no archaeological testing or even intensive survey was conducted, the site is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register and was subsequently incorporated in the Secessionville National Register District (discussed below). This site is situated outside the current survey boundaries.

In March 1992 representatives of the South Carolina Heritage Trust conducted a brief reconnaissance of the Secessionville peninsula(Judge 1992), apparently in anticipation of the Trust purchasing a potion of the property (a transfer which did not occur). The reconnaissance identified nine different loci, based on surface evidence. Portions of two are situated within the study area. Loci 8 is reported to be the Confederate encampment and Loci 9 is described as an area containing nineteenth century historic artifacts

In September 1992 an intensive archaeological survey was conducted south of Fort Lamar Road by Brockington and Associates (Butler 1994). This 32.5 acre tract was identified as the Martschink Development Tract. The use of 20 m by 20 m transects and screened shovel tests revealed the presence of previously identified 38CH1271, known as Fort Lamar. In addition, a new archaeological site, designated 38CH1456, was also identified.[1]

In July of 1996 an intensive archaeological survey was conducted north of Fort Lamar Road by Chicora Foundation (Trinkley 1996a). This 30 acre tract was identified as the Secessionville North Tract. The use of 100 feet by 50 feet transects and screened shovel tests identified the presence of four previously identified archaeological sites (38CH1458, 38CH1459, 38CH1460, 38CH1461). The National Register status of these sites was reassessed during these investigations.

Of particular relevance, however, is an archaeological survey conducted apparently at about the same time, 1992, as the Brockington (Butler 1994) survey. Also conducted by Brockington and Associates, this survey, however, was not written up and the only data we have identified are the site forms filed at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Two archaeological sites were identified, both of which were re-identified during the current survey.

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[1] This site was originally identified as a probable Mississippian palisaded village (see Butler 1992 and Anonymous 1994). Data recovery efforts at the site by Chicora Foundation in 1996 revealed the site to consist of a thoroughly plowed Thom's Creek midden with a few remnant Thom's Creek shell filled pit features. Mississippian pottery was present only as occasional items in the plowzone. Also present, but not previously reported, were the remains of the Secessionville Water Batteries which had been filled or plowed down in the early twentieth century, as well as several military features (see Trinkley 1996b for an overview).

Site 38CH1457 was identified as a diffuse scatter of prehistoric and historic materials in the south and southeast quadrant of the study tract. The site was reported to measure about 656 feet northeast-southwest by 590 feet northwest-southeast. The site form reports that of the approximately 150 shovel tests in this area, only 30 were positive (representing 20%). Approximately 15 positive shovel tests (50%) contained prehistoric artifacts whereas approximately 21 (70%) contained historic materials. The site was described as a "dense scatter of historic remains and [a] diffuse scatter of prehistoric remains" and "may represent remains of [a] slave village associated [with the] Secessionville Plantation or [a] confederate camp associated with Fort Lamar" (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1457 site form). This site was recommended as potentially eligible, with the justification that the "mechanical scraping of selected areas within [the] site [may] reveal possible buried features" (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1457 site form).

Site 38CH1462 was identified as a fortress or battery. The site was reported to measured 197 feet northeast-southwest by 197 feet northwest-southeast. No surface collection or shovel testing was undertaken within the confines of the earthworks. The site was described as a nineteenth century "circular earthwork/battery" associated with the construction of Fort Lamar (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1462 site form). The site was recommended as potentially eligible, with the justification that the site was "part of Fort Lamar [and] can be considered a portion of that listed NRHP property or a portion of the noncontiguous NRHP district that includes the outer defenses of Charleston" (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1462 site form).

Both sites are shown, along with their original positive tests, as well as the previously identified Heritage Trust loci, in Figure 6. This will help the reader to better understand the sparseness of recovered artifacts as well as the site established by these initial survey efforts. In addition, it will be useful to compare this map showing the 1992 survey with the study undertaken by Chicora Foundation.

The State Historic Preservation Office was contacted concerning National Register eligible properties or sites within the project area. We were informed that the project area lay either on the edge of, or just within, the Secessionville Historic District. Butler (1994:65-70), notes that the Secessionville Historic District, listed under Criterion A (significant events), incorporates the southern half of the survey tract north of Fort Lamar Road (Figure 7). Buildings and sites, which contribute to the character of the district, include Fort Lamar, an unmarked mass grave site of Union soldiers, the Seabrook-Freer House, the William B. Seabrook House, and the Elias L. Rivers House. According to this interpretation, neither site 38CH1457 or 38CH1462 are included within the Secessionville Historic District, thus their status for the National Register of Historic Places must be made independently of the district.

Prehistoric Synopsis

Several previously published archaeological studies are available for the Charleston area that provide additional background, including Butler (1994:8-18) and Trinkley (1980). A considerable amount of archaeology has been conducted in the Charleston area and these works should be consulted for broad overviews.

The Paleoindian period, lasting from 12,000 to perhaps 8,000 B.C., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977; Williams 1968). The Paleoindian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Artifacts are most frequently found along major river drainages, which Michie interprets to support the concept of an economy "oriented towards the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124).

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to about 1000 B.C., does not form a sharp

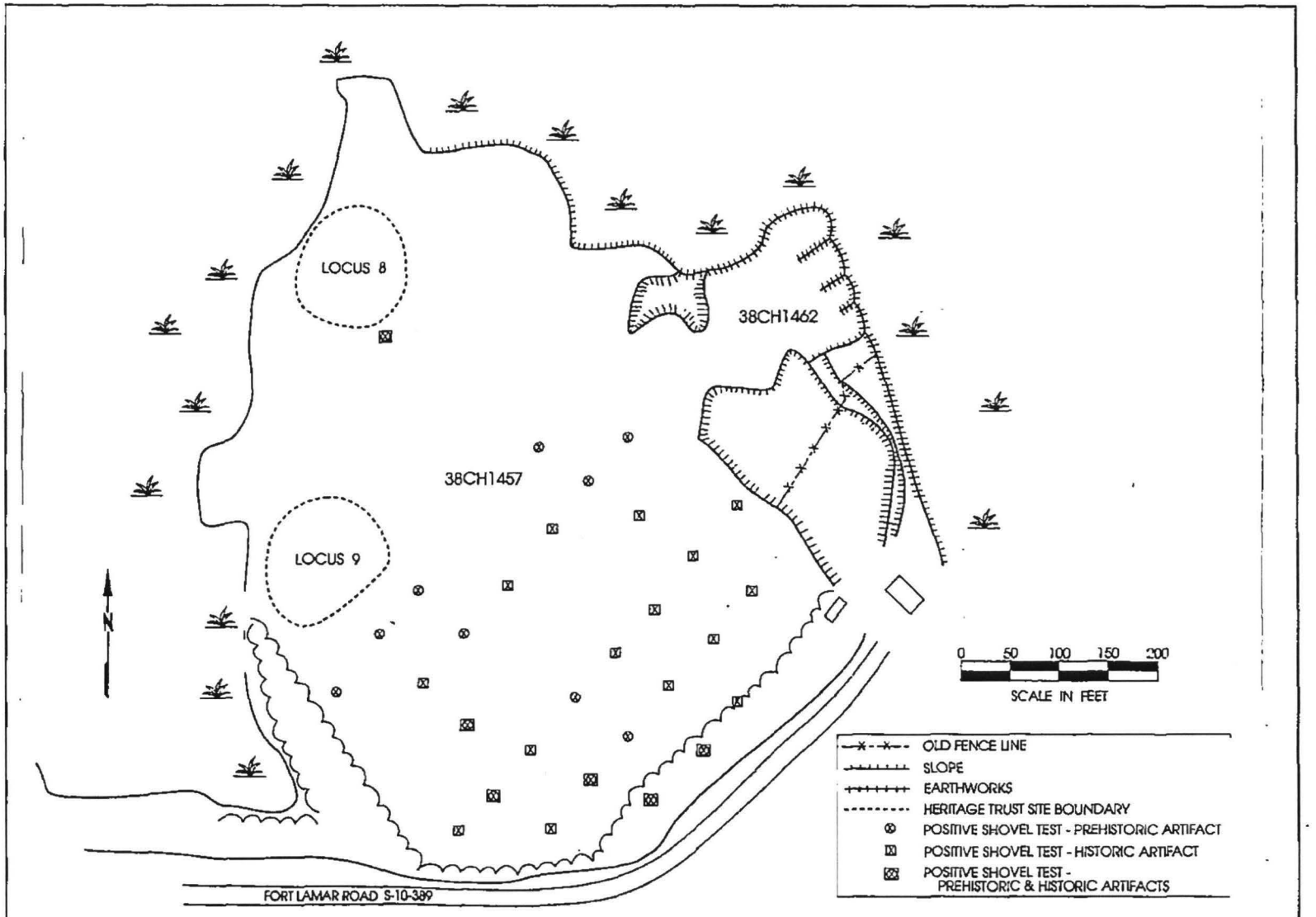

Figure 6. Heritage Trust loci and original Brockington and Associates shovel test finds.

break with the Paleoindian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. The chronology established by Coe (1964) for the North Carolina Piedmont may be applied with relatively little modification to the South Carolina coast. Archaic period assemblages, characterized by corner-notched and broad stemmed projectile points, are rare in the Sea Island region, although the sea level is anticipated to have been within 13 feet of its present stand by the beginning of the succeeding Woodland period (Lepionka et al. 1983:10).

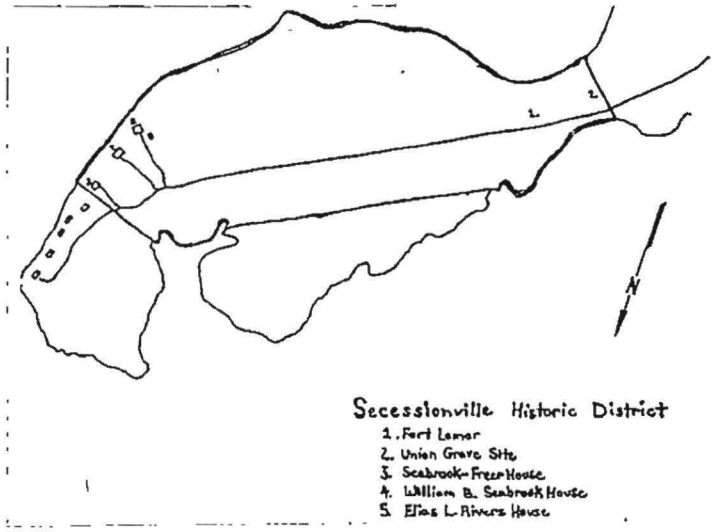

Figure 7. Secessionville Historic District Map accompanying the National Register nomination (adapted from Butler 1994:Figure 28).

To some the Woodland period begins, by definition, with the introduction of fired clay pottery about 2000 B.C. along the South Carolina coast. To others, the period from about 2500 to 1000 B.C. falls into the Late Archaic because of a perceived continuation of the Archaic lifestyle in spite of the manufacture of pottery. Regardless of the terminology, the period from 2500 to 1000 B.C. is well documented on the South Carolina coast and is characterized by Stallings (fiber-tempered) and Thom's Creek (sand or non-tempered) series pottery (Figure 8).

The subsistence economy during this early period on the coast of South Carolina was based primarily on deer hunting, fishing, and shellfish collection, with supplemental inclusions of small mammals, birds, and reptiles. Various calculations of the probable yield of deer, fish, and other food sources identified from shell ring sites such as Stratton Place near the project study tract and Lighthouse Point, also in Charleston County on James Island, indicate that sedentary life was not only possible, but probable.

Toward the end of the Thom's Creek phase there is evidence of sea level change, and a number of small, non-shell midden sites are found along the coast. Apparently the rising sea level inundated the tide marshes on which the Thom's Creek people relied.

The succeeding Refuge phase, which dates from about 1100 to 500 B.C., suggests fragmentation caused by the environmental changes (Lepionka et al. 1983; Williams 1968). Sites are generally small and some coastal sites evidence no shellfish collection at all (Trinkley 1982). Peterson (1971:153) characterizes Refuge as a degeneration of the preceding Thom's Creek series and a bridge to the succeeding Deptford culture.

The Deptford phase, which dates from 1100 B.C. to A.D. 600, is best characterized by fine to coarse sandy paste pottery with a check stamped surface treatment. Also present are quantities of cord marked, simple stamped, and occasional fabric impressed pottery. During this period there is a blending of the Deptford ceramic tradition of the lower Savannah with the Deep Creek tradition found further north along the South Carolina coast and extending into North Carolina (Trinkley 1983).

The Middle Woodland period (ca. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1000) is characterized by the use of sand burial mounds and ossuaries along the Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina coasts (Brooks et al. 1982; Thomas and Larsen 1979; Wilson 1982). Middle Woodland coastal plain sites continue the Early Woodland Deptford

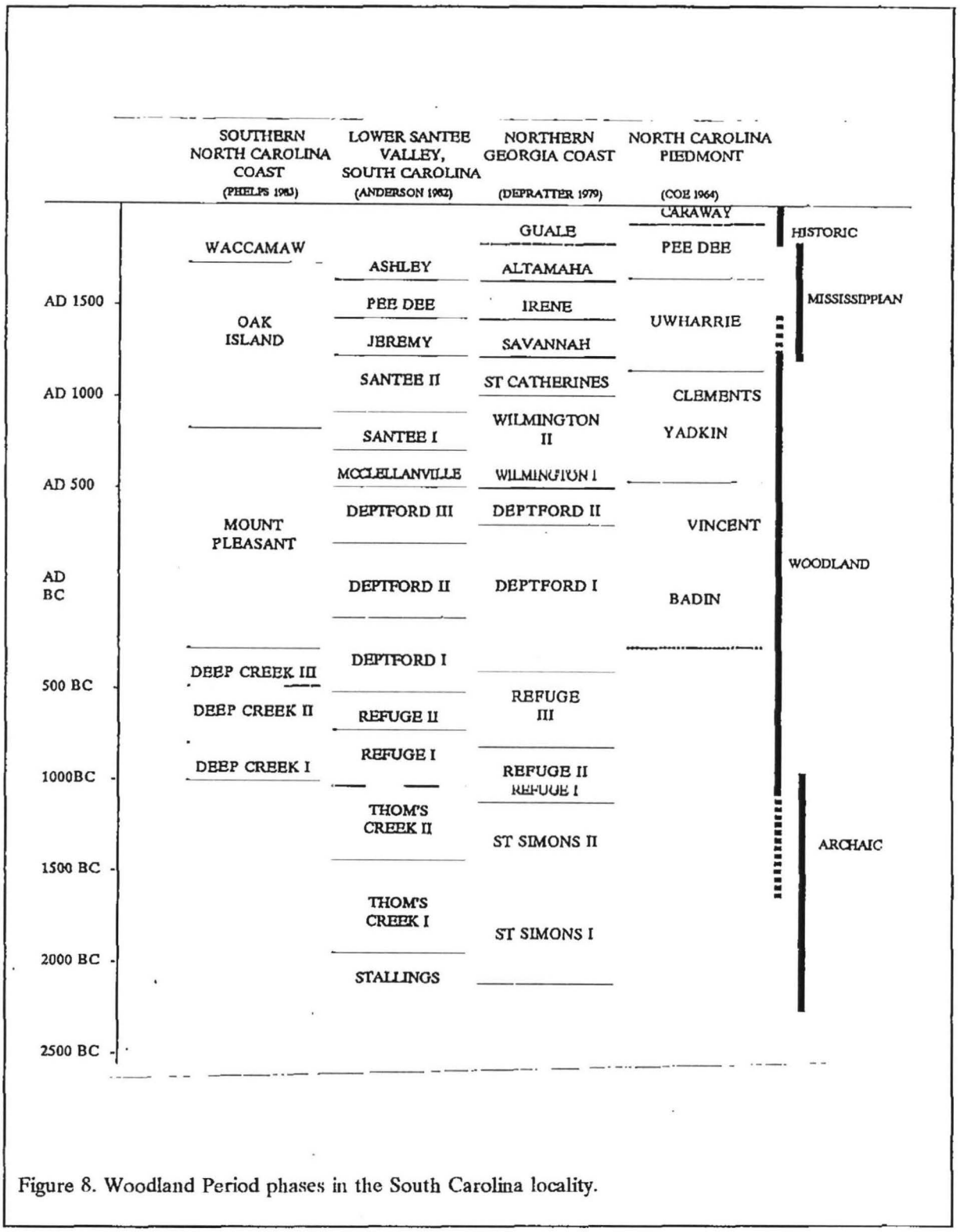

Figure 8. Woodland Period phases in the South Carolina locality.

pattern of mobility. While sites are found all along the coast and inland to the fall line, sites are characterized by sparse shell and few artifacts. Gone are the abundant shell tools, worked bone items, and clay balls. In many respects the South Carolina Late Woodland period (ca. A.D. 1000 to 1650 in some areas of the coast) may be characterized as a continuum of the previous Middle Woodland cultural assemblage.

The Middle and Late Woodland occupations in South Carolina are characterized by a pattern of settlement mobility and short-term occupations. On the southern coast they are associated with the Wilmington and St. Catherines phases, which date from about A.D. 500 to at least A.D. 1150, although there is evidence that the St. Catherines pottery continued to be produced much later in time (Trinkley 1981). On the northern coast there are very similar ceramics called Hanover and Santee.

The South Appalachian Mississippian period (ca. A.D. 1100 to 1640) is the most elaborate level of culture attained by the native inhabitants and is followed by cultural disintegration brought about largely by European disease. The period is characterized by complicated stamped pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers. The earliest coastal phases are named Savannah and Irene (A.D. 1200 to 1550). Sometime after the arrival of Europeans on the Georgia coast in A.D. 1519, the Irene phase is replaced by the Altamaha phase. Altamaha pottery tends to be heavily grit tempered, the complicated stamped motifs tend to be rectilinear and poorly applied, and check stamping occurs as a minority ware. Further north, in the Charleston area, the Pee Dee or Irene ware is replaced by pottery with bolder designs, thought to be representative of the protohistoric and historic periods (South 1971).

Although there has been very little archaeological exploration of historic period Native American groups in the Charleston area, South has compiled a detailed overview of the ethnohistoric sources (South 1972).

Historic Research

Just as there are a large number of sources recounting the prehistory of the project area, the history of Charleston County has been extensively reviewed, summarized, and critiqued. There should hardly be any need to do more than point the interested reader in one or two directions for additional information and details. Simple, and readily available, summaries include *A Short History of Charleston* (Rosen 1982) and *Charleston! Charleston!* (Fraser 1989).

The history of the project area, relatively speaking, is exceptionally well researched and well understood. Butler, for example, provides 38 pages of historic documentation, representing a full 40% of his report (Butler 1994). Côté (1995) provides an even more complete history of the project area, focused on the immediate area of "Secessionville Manor," also known as the William B. Seabrook House.

While initially we anticipated some additional historic research would be necessary, we found that the previous studies, especially Côté (1995), had exhausted the readily available primary and secondary sources. Consequently, our historical research was limited to collecting copies of various referenced plats.

Colonial and Antebellum Ownership

The earliest identified owner for the Secessionville peninsula is apparently Thomas Fawcett, who in June 1698 obtained a warrant for 100 acres on James Island (Salley and Olsberg 1973:583). The grant was dated July 14, 1698 and was recorded August 6, 1698 (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Grant Book C, pp. 197-198). Although the meets and bounds are indistinct, and although the accompanying plat can no longer be found, Côté (1995:25) notes that subsequent deeds cite this grant. He also observes that Fawcett's ownership is clouded in ambiguity — there is no will, no estate inventory, virtually no historical record at all to indicate what may have happened on the tract during this very early period.

Moreover, the eventual disposition of the

tract is not clearly understood since it does not show up again until the will of George Rivers devises 79 acres (the entire peninsula) to his son, Daniel in 1749 (Charleston County WPA Wills 1747-1752, vol. 6, p. 156). Côté observes that Rivers was a moderately successful planter who seems to have focused on poultry raising. His son David had already occupied the Secessionville peninsula, since the will devices, "all that tract of land where now he liveth extending to the westward as far as where my gate posts now stands in the fence that runs from marsh to marsh across the neck" (quoted in Côté 1995:26). West of Daniel was the tract he devised to his son John (which likely includes a portion of the study tract) and even further west would have been the tract given to his son Thomas. Clearly the Rivers family was well established by 1749. Even more clearly, Daniel apparently had a settlement in the project area by this time — the first fairly conclusive evidence of a plantation settlement.

Daniel Rivers died in 1764, after acquiring a second plantation on James Island — that of Colonel Robert Rivers (formerly belonging to William Rivers). Côté (1995:27-29) suggests that he continued to live on the Secessionville peninsula, even after acquiring the other tract. There sees, however, to be little indication for this and, in fact, the wording of Daniel's will suggests more strongly that he may have taken up residence on the plantation acquired from Colonel Rivers. Regardless, in March 1765 the executors of Daniel's will sold the Secessionville tract to his son, John Rivers, for 10 shillings (Côté 1995:29). This deed traces the property back to Fawcett and also notes that the neck was known "by the Indians Washopeau" (Charleston County RMC, DB G3, p.177).

In John's 1773 will the eastern half of the plantation (accounting for about 77 acres) was devised to his son, Henry Rivers. Côté describes Henry Rivers as:

> an educated, middle-class young man who raised cattle, sheep and planted on a modest scale. His table was set with pewter plates, not silver. His few luxuries included a silver watch, a pair of silver buckles, some gold sleeve buttons, a riding chair and a small lot of books. He also owned eleven juvenile slaves (Côté 1995:30).

While Henry Rivers may have been a small planter, the watch, buckles, buttons, books, and riding chair all suggest that he was aggressively participating in growing consumer economy of Georgian society. Dying sometime between 1773 and 1776, this widow inherited his Secessionville plantation (based on a 1796 plat which reveals the property was previously owned by the "late widow of Henry Rivers").

There is another gap in the chain of title between River's widow and the next owner, John Stint, Sr. who had acquired the property at least by 1796. A 1796 plat reveals that Stint was the owner of only 44 acres. As Côté observes:

> The lot of land now under discussion has shrunken from the original 100 acres to 79 acres (all of the land east of the neck) to just 44 acres (the eastern half of the land east of the neck) (Côté 1995:32).

The land west of Stint and east of the neck, according to the 1796 plat (Figure 9) was still part of the "Estate of John Rivers (Deceased)." This suggests that John's estate was only partially devised by this late date.

John Stint died in 1816 and apparently passed the small parcel to his son, John Stint, Jr. Côté (1995:33) suggests that this Stint was also a small planter who raised cotton on the parcel. This is at least partially confirmed by a Coastal Survey map which reveals the presence of a dwelling, two out buildings, and four slave houses on the south edge of the parcel, outside the survey area in 1825 (Figure 10).

In 1837, Edward Freer, executor of the estate of John Stint, Jr., sold the 44 acre tip of the

Figure 9. Project area in 1796, with Stent's settlement at the eastern end of the peninsula (Charleston County RMC, DB Q6, p. 110)

Secessionville peninsula to Rawlin Rivers. Côté reports that:

> at this time, Rivers already owned the land to the west [apparently acquiring the tract from the executors of John River's estate]. This purchase reunited ownership of all the land on the peninsula under one owner (Côté 1995:35).

The 1850 agricultural census reveals that Rawlins Rivers was a relatively well established cotton planter — his 35 slaves produced 10 bales of cotton the previous year, as well as corn, peas, beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and butter (Côté 1995:35). It is also likely that he constructed what subsequently became known as the William B. Seabrook House during his ownership. By 1838, however, Rivers had sold the 44-acre tip of the Secessionville peninsula to Henry F. Bailey (Charleston County RMC, DB T10, p. 199). The land was described as:

> All that plantation or tract of land . . . known by the name of "Stint's Point," measuring and containing forty four acres of high land more or less . . . bounding to the north on Simpson's Creek, to the northeast, east and south on a creek called Savannah Creek and to the west on land belonging to me the said Rawlins Rivers . . . (quoted in Côté 1995:36).

By 1841 Bailey had acquired all of the Secessionville Peninsula, plus additional land, for a total of 410.7 acres, which were surveyed by Robert K. Payne (Figure 11). This is a particularly valuable plat, since it

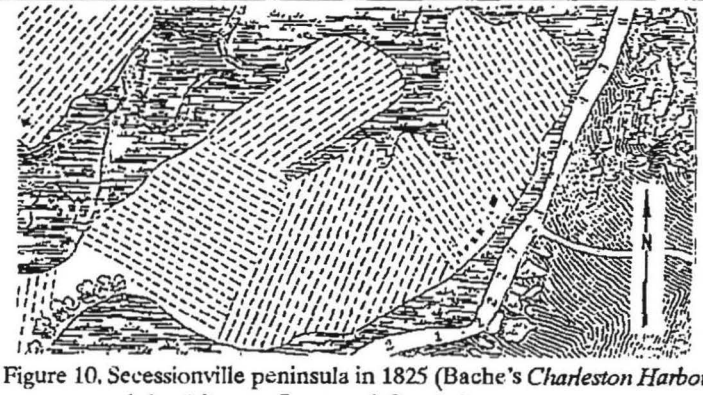

Figure 10. Secessionville peninsula in 1825 (Bache's *Charleston Harbour and the Adjacent Coast and Country*).

reveals that while the main settlement had not moved from the earlier 1796 plat, the slave settlement had been shifted further away — into the current study tract. The plat also reveals that the point was still known as Stent's Point and that there was likely a ditch (possibly a property boundary) dug across the narrow neck. Côté suggests that there was "a bridge across a marshy inlet," although the plat suggests that this is more likely another ditch or dike, perhaps impounding a portion of the marsh for rice planting.

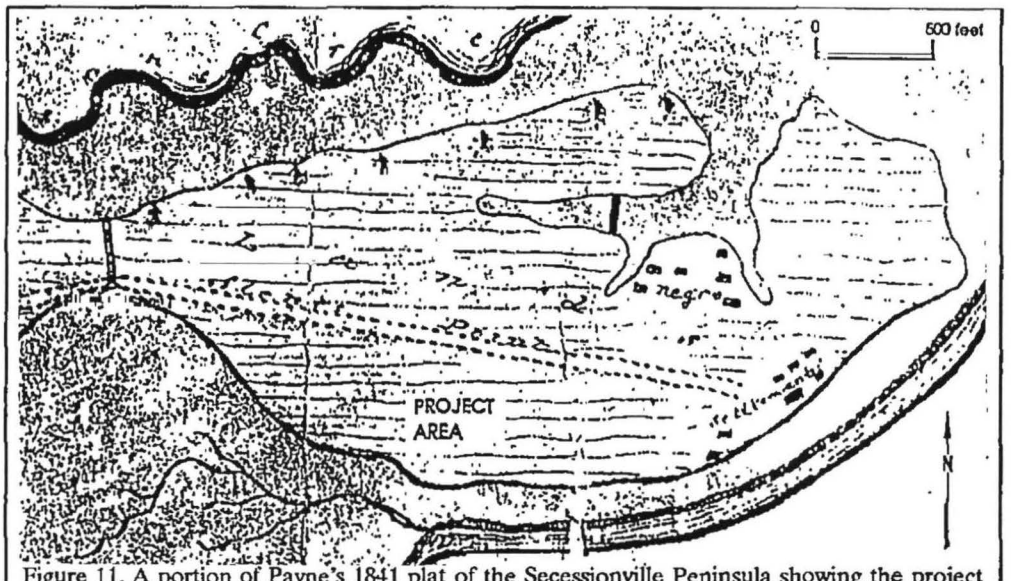

Figure 11. A portion of Payne's 1841 plat of the Secessionville Peninsula showing the project area and the "negro" settlement situated on the survey tract.

The Secessionville tract was sold by Bailey to Joseph Washington Hills, who by 1850 had acquired a total of 250 acres (Côté 1995:40). He owned 32 slaves and produced 9 bales of cotton, as well as subsistence crops. By 1851, however, he sold the 250 acre plantation to Constant H. Rivers, reserving for himself, "one lot of land" in what had already been promoted by Rivers as a new summer village.

The Development of Riversville

Constant Rivers was not only a successful cotton planter on James Island, he was also the developer of what historically was known as Riversville, a summer village for the island's planters. An 1852 mortgage identified Riversville as encompassing 14 acres and being situated at the extreme southeast end of Stent's Point. Côté observes that:

> Its seven lots fronted on Bay Street, a boardwalk promenade which ran the length of the village's settled waterfront, just above the high water mark of Savannah Creek. Behind the houses was the street known as Main or Washington, which rang parallel to Bay Street. This street still exists. It ran west from the tip of the peninsula to a point where it turned to continue on, as Savannah Road, to the neck of the peninsula and beyond. Two streets, Calhoun and McDuffie, ran between Main and Bay (Côté 1995:44).

He further notes that at least six of the seven lots had substantial houses built on them prior to the Civil War. In addition, a steamboat landing was constructed at the tip of the peninsula, probably to allow planters to transfer their belongings, and family, to the summer village.[2]

[2]The establishment of small towns and villages within low country South Carolina was quiet common during the Colonial and antebellum period. Water access was a common feature in their location. (for a socio-economic overview of river port settlements in the

Local legend explains that name "Secessionville" was derived from the "fact" that a group of James Island planters "seceded" from the previous summer village at Johnsonville (this view is repeated by Butler 1994:25). As Côté goes on to explain, "the tradition always goes on to state emphatically that the name is not related to South Carolina's secession from the Union on December 20, 1860" (Côté 1995:n.p.). Côté admirably debunks this myth, proving that the village's earliest name was Riversville — a name which was still in active use as late as June 1859. In contrast, there is no evidence of the name "Secessionville" prior to February 23, 1861. Further, he found an 1864 Civil War soldier's account of the name — "This place is said to be where the first secession flag was raised." There is little doubt that the name "Secessionville" is directly tied to South Carolina's dissolution of the Union.

Figure 12. James Island in 1862 showing the early Confederate defensive works (*E. & G.W. Blunt's Map of Charleston and Vicinity*).

The year before the Civil War, Riversville had eight occupants — Adella M. Hills, Constant H. Rivers, William H. Rivers, Thomas H. Grimball, James M. Lawton, William W. McLeod, William B. Seabrook, and John W. Holmes. Only two, Grimball and Seabrook, owned 1,000 or more acres, or 90 or more slaves. Most were relatively modest planters (Côté 1995:59).

The Civil War

Just as there are numerous accounts of Charleston's history, so too are there several excellent synoptic histories of Secessionville and the siege of Charleston. Not only do Butler (1994) and Côté (1995) provide overviews, but Burton (1970) and Rosen (1994) help place the local events in a much wider perspective. Finally, Gragg (1994), Jones (1911), and Power (1992) provide thorough secondary accounts of the actual Battle of Secessionville — the only action which the project area saw during the Civil War.

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 precipitated the long-brewing crisis between the North and the South. Seven Southern states, lead by South Carolina, seceded before Lincoln's inauguration; four more plus the Indian Territory joined them in early 1861, with elements in Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Arizona also finding representation in the resulting Confederate States of America. Irresolution marked the initial Northern response to secession, but this was quickly changed after the morning of April 12, 1861 when Confederate forces fired on Fort Sumter (see, Rosen 1994:63-68 for an overview of the events leading up to the attack on Sumter and the disagreements among historians of how these events transpired).

Federal response was galvanized by the

low country see Barr 1995; 1996).

South's first hostile action and in less than a month the Union blockade on Charleston and other Southern ports was established. By November 1861 what Burton called "the most formidable armada ever assembled under the American flag" sailed into Port Royal and began to methodically destroy the Confederate forts guarding the entrance and protecting both Hilton Head and the town of Beaufort (Burton 1970:68). The Confederate forces retreated after only a few hours, leaving the area to the Federal troops.

The fall of Port Royal sent shock waves through the Confederacy and shortly afterward the little known General Robert E. Lee arrived in Charleston to assume command of the new military department of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida. Lee established his command at Coosawhatchie, on the line of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. His strategy, in the words of Rosen was:

> to concede the immediate coast (a move that did not sit well with the planters of the area) except for the forts guarding Charleston and Savannah, which he greatly improved; to obstruct all the waterways between the two cities not already occupied by the Union navy; and to protect the railroad (Rosen 1994:83).

While it is certainly clear that the ability of generals and the experience of manpower affected the course of the Civil War, geography set the context in which these variables functioned. The Appalachians divided the Confederacy into eastern and western theaters, while the Mississippi further set apart this region. The Atlantic and Gulf coasts were lesser fronts. It was the proximity of the rival capitals — Richmond and Washington — which served to protect Charleston. Although the Union forces in Port Royal were posed to launch an offensive assault on Charleston, in the hope of splitting the Confederacy in two, Lincoln was preoccupied with an attack on Richmond.

As the Union forces delayed, Charleston continued to strengthen its defenses. Lee placed General Roswell S. Ripley over the Charleston district. By March 1862 Lee was replaced by Major General John C. Pemberton, an individual almost universally disliked by Charlestonians. Rosen notes that he relieved Ripley of his command and was never able to get along with South Carolina's Governor Pickens. Soon Charleston was under martial law and the local paper cried that this was "grievous and intolerable oppression — an unreasonable and tyrannical measure" (quoted in Rosen 1994:89).

In spite of the measures taken by Lee, Ripley, and then Pemberton, the large rivers of coastal South Carolina were a serious weakness in the defense of Charleston since they allowed numerous entrances and routes of movement — most difficult to protect or defend. Coupled with this natural weakness, Pemberton decided to draw his defenses inward toward Charleston, and abandoned the fortifications at Cole's Island on the Stono Inlet. Combined, these two were seized by the Federal navy, which began a gradual movement up the Carolina coast from Port Royal, first to Cole's Island, to Edisto Island, to Seabrook Island, then to John's and Kiawah islands, then finally digging in on Folly Island. This created a staging

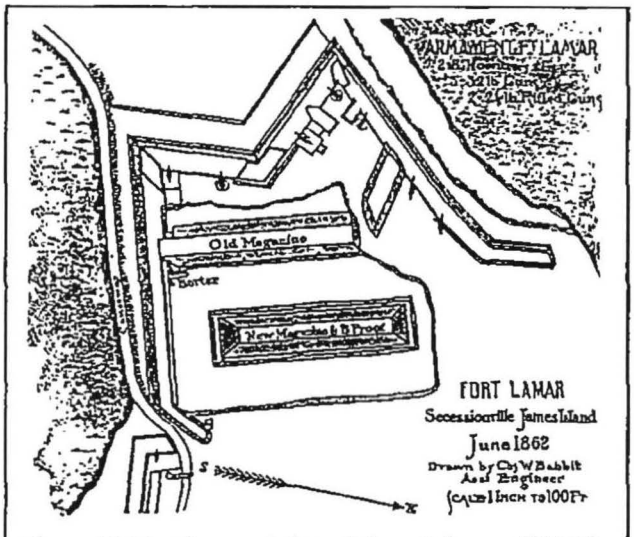

Figure 13. Fort Lamar (adapted from Johnson 1890:27).

area for the assault on Charleston.

Among the Confederates' greatest fears was that the Union army would launch an assault on James Island, since if it fell, artillery batteries on the island would almost certainly lay waste to the inner harbor defenses. As a result, extensive defensive batteries were erected on James Island. Figure 12 shows James Island in 1862, after the construction of these Confederate batteries had begun. One of these, at Secessionville, was begun in January 1862. Colonel Lewis M. Hatch and the 23rd South Carolina Infantry constructed a four-gun battery across the narrow neck of the peninsula, an observation tower immediately behind the battery, and a bridge at the northeast corner of the peninsula to connect it with the mainland and provide a rear exit. On May 29, 1862, under the increased threat of invasion by Union forces, Major John G. Pressly, commander of the Eutaw Regiment (25th S.C. Volunteer Infantry) at Secessionville and Provost Marshal for James Island, ordered that the island be evacuated. The notice in the Charleston *Mercury* instructed the planters to remove all private property, including slaves. Corn and fodder would be purchased by the Quartermaster. Concerning livestock:

> Beef Cattle will be valued and paid for by the Commissary Department. Milch Cows, if for the support of the negroes, may be sent off at once, but no Cattle can be removed for the purpose of being sold to butchers. Cattle cannot be removed from the Island without an order from the Provost Marshal. Sheep, Hogs, &c., must be removed, or, if not, will be taken and valued by the Commissary (Charleston *Mercury*, June 2, 1862).

Côté observes that the Secessionville works, known initially only as the Tower Battery, was an impressive, if not completed, defensive work in late May 1862:

> The fort at Secessionville embodied a sophisticated array of defenses. It stretched the entire width of the narrowest part of the peninsula, thereby requiring any attacker to confront it head-on — where they were in the direct line of the fort's artillery and small arms fire.
>
> An attaching army had virtually no room to maneuver, for the neck of land on which the fort was built narrowed to a killing field less than two hundred yards wide directly in front of the fort. Flanking maneuvers were made impossible by the salt marsh, which protected both sides of the fort, and any frontal assault was immediately slowed down by an abattis — a barricade of felled trees with the sharpened branches facing the enemy.
>
> After penetrating the abbatis, the attacker had to deal with a moat seven feet deep and then scale a nine-foot high, hard packed earthwork. Those who withstood their withering fire and made it to the parapet of the earthwork then faced a second line of defense, for the whole interior of the fort could be swept by fire from a series of rifle pits in the rear of the fort. Outside the fort, the woods and bushes between the fort and the village were also filled with Confederate sharpshooters (Côté 1995:68).

Secessionville's Place in the Theory of Field Fortifications

The fortifications described by Côté were traditional, and were based on the prevailing science of military warfare. As Paddy Griffith explains, even before the Civil War America's army had shown its tendency to "dig in" (Griffith

1989:124). In fact, he comments that, "it was perhaps significant that the Republic's only official military academy had been built as a college of engineering" (Griffith 1989:124). He explains that:

> Their Professor of Engineering and the Art of War, Dennis Hart Mahan, was to all accounts a persuasive teacher — and his favourite theme was the pre-eminence of the spade in combat (Griffith 1989:124).

Griffith realizes that Mahan, and his disciples — especially General Wager Halleck (who immortalized himself for his curious habit of digging in every few miles as he pursued a defeated enemy; he had earlier in 1856 written the text, *Elements of Military Art and Science*) and General P.G.T. Beauregard — based their faith not so much on a careful study of Napoleon's tactics or even American history, but rather on their complete lack of faith in militia armies to hold their own in battle. Any significant war would require the use of militias "and that meant it would have to be fought by primitive tactics which sacrificed mobility and flexibility in order to give a minimum standard of confidence and security to the troops (Griffith 1989:125). It was only behind earthworks that Mahan felt America's militia would be capable of fighting successfully. The most powerful of all Mahan's writings, *A Treatise on Field Fortifications*, was so significant that it was published during the Civil War by Confederate printers and was the standard work. When the Secessionville works are examined, it is clear that they were designed, laid out, and constructed in careful, almost rigid, adherence to Mahan's principles (Mahan 1864).

Griffith deals at length with the psychological power of fortifications — noting that throughout the war both sides dug in and both sides were loath to attack fortified entrenchments. The conventional wisdom was that fortifications could multiple the soldier's combat value by no less than six times — allowing, for example, 10,000 men to beat off 60,000 (Griffith 1989:130). In spite of the almost mythical attributes of earthworks, all that most fortifications could provide, according to Griffith, was to provide the defender with extra time to pour fire from relative security with the hope that this directed fire would demoralize the attacker before he reached his objective. He goes on to point out that:

> Actually the main physical strength of a trench position was usually to be found neither in the extra protection it offered the defender nor in the obstacles it put in the way of an attacker. Paradoxically, it was the cleared field of fire in front of the trench that made it most dangerous. . . . It gave them [the defenders] a killing ground in which an attacker could be brought face to face with the full dangers of his enterprise (Griffith 1989:129).

Figure 14. Battle of Secessionville (from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 12, 1862, courtesy of the S.C. Historical Society).

Griffith notes that regardless, the vast

majority of earthworks actually taken fell to flanking action (perfected by General Sherman) not to frontal assaults. He notes that:

> the longer the war went on, the more soldiers could be found who had experienced a "slaughter pen" at first hand. Such men had searing visions of the human cost of such enterprises, and quite naturally found it difficult to balance this against the highly abstract benefits to be gained by even a successful assault (Griffith 1989:131).

By late in the war this resulted in numerous cases of combat refusal. Even when mutiny was avoided, there were increasing numbers of abortive charges which, in Griffith's words, "went to ground" almost before they began (Griffith 1989:131). Drury and Embleton also note that more and more ditches were dug as the war continued (Drury and Embleton 1993:21).

In spite of this, Griffith warns that the ditches of the Civil War soldier were no more necessary in the mid-nineteenth century than they had been a hundred or more years earlier.[3] He suggests the dependence on earthworks such as those at Secessionville grew out the combatants themselves:

> A more educated American population was less ready to risk death without at least a semblance of personal protection, and a high command imbued with the flannelling of the Vauban and Mahan schools was blinded to the inner character of mobile warfare. Once this curious brew had been mixed together and shaken up thoroughly in a few pitched battles, it settled out as the 1864 elixir. Lots of digging, lots of skirmishing, noise and smoke, lots of respect for the enemy's line and an acute awareness of the claims he had staked. But not often very much real fighting. It was a far cry indeed from the methods of Napoleon! (Griffith 1989:135).

The Battle of Secessionville

Considering this context, it is easier to understand the relentless effort placed into the Charleston defenses, including those at Secessionville. The fortifications consisted of a barbette battery with two bastioned salients and on re-entrant angle. The gorge was open, although by June of 1862 two magazines had been built, the newer one including a bombproof (Figure 13).

The Confederate army defending Charleston dug itself in, staked its territory, and established a clear boundary. Major General David Hunter saw an opportunity to attack James Island and perhaps even push on to Charleston. In early May 1862 he assigned Brigadier General Henry W. Benham the task of developing plans to assault the city by way of James Island (Power 1992:157-158). His initial plan was to mount a land assault by way of Edisto Island with half of the available troops, while depositing the remaining half quickly on James Island. This plan, however, ran into the bureaucratic obstacle of acquiring sufficient troop transports and, when the expedition was postponed, Benham observed:

> this movement, which was to have been a surprise, is undoubtedly now known to the enemy and may be defeated, or can be accomplished only at the probable cost of a large sacrifice of life, or it must be abandoned and Charleston still held by the rebels

[3]Griffith disputes those, such as Drury and Embleton (1993:21), who still suggest that entrenchments were the result of improved weapons. He observes that the threats from snipers and rifled artillery, while perhaps psychologically terrifying, were tactically marginal. Further, the new weapons, in his words, "were less different from their predecessors than had been claimed" (Griffith 1989:134).

(quoted in Power 1992:158).

In spite of the problems, on June 2, 1862 Benham landed about 11,500 troops in the vicinity of Grimball's plantation on the southwestern tip of James Island. Although the Confederate forces were aware of this landing and sent out scouting parties, they did little else. Burton (1970:103-104) attributes this primarily to the covering fire provided by the Union gunboats in the Stono River. One major effort by the Confederates to push the Union forces back into the Stono failed miserably, with the loss of about 60 or 70 Confederates and only 20 Union troops (see Power 1992:161-162 and Burton 1970:103-104).

At this juncture, General Hunter left James Island to seek additional reinforcements, effectively postponing the efforts to take Charleston. What happened next is relatively well known, and well recounted by Power:

> Hunter left Benham in command on James Island, issuing vague orders which seemed to simultaneously prohibit and require offensive actions. "You will make no attempt to advance on Charleston or to attack Fort Johnson until largely re-enforced or until you receive specific instructions from these headquarters to that effect," the orders read. "You will however provide for a secure entranced encampment, where your front can be covered by the fire of our gunboats from the Stono on the left and creek from Folly River on our right." These instructions would be the focal point of a wide-ranging controversy in a few days (Power 1992:161).

Accounts of the battle of Secessionville are provided by Gragg (1994), Jones (1911), and Power (1992). In addition, Butler (1994) provides another summary of the action. In the simplest of terms, by June 15 Benham decided that the Secessionville earthworks threatened both his position and the continued presence of the Union gunboats in the Stono. He embarked on what he called a "reconnaissance in force" to overwhelm Secessionville, eliminating this threat (and fortuitously, placing his forces in proximity to Charleston). Power notes that Benham's junior officers were not nearly as excited about the idea, although it seems unclear whether their concerns were clearly conveyed. Regardless, the loosely devised plans called for Brigadier General Isaac I. Stevens' Second Division to lead an advance the next morning, June 16th, at four o'clock, with Brigadier Gen. Horatio G. Wright's First Division in close support. The Union gunboats were to provide artillery support.

Meanwhile, the Confederate forces, under the commander of the "Tower Battery" as it was still known, Colonel Thomas G. Lamar, had been busy having his 1st South Carolina Artillery finish the major defenses at the earthworks. The night of June 15th was the first time in weeks that they had been allowed to sleep without their small arms at ready.

The Union attack began on-time, but capturing the Confederate pickets about ¾-mile away from the earthworks raised the alarm in at Secessionville and Lamar rushed his troops to the gun emplacements, while requesting nearby infantry support, with the Union troops only a few hundred yards from the earthworks. The battery's first shot punched a gaping hole in the Union line, causing them to falter while re-organizing. Meanwhile Confederate infantry began arriving, taking positions on the fortifications and commencing with musket fire (Figure 14). By this time it is likely that the Union troops were within what might be called the "decisive" range of rifle fire — under a hundred yards (see, for example, Griffith 1989:146).

Adding the problem faced by the Union forces was the topography — a narrow peninsula which forced the troops to bunch together. The result was disastrous — just as it had been for Napoleon's "monstrous column" 50 years earlier. This made the troops both exceptionally vulnerable and unwieldy as they got closer to the enemy. As

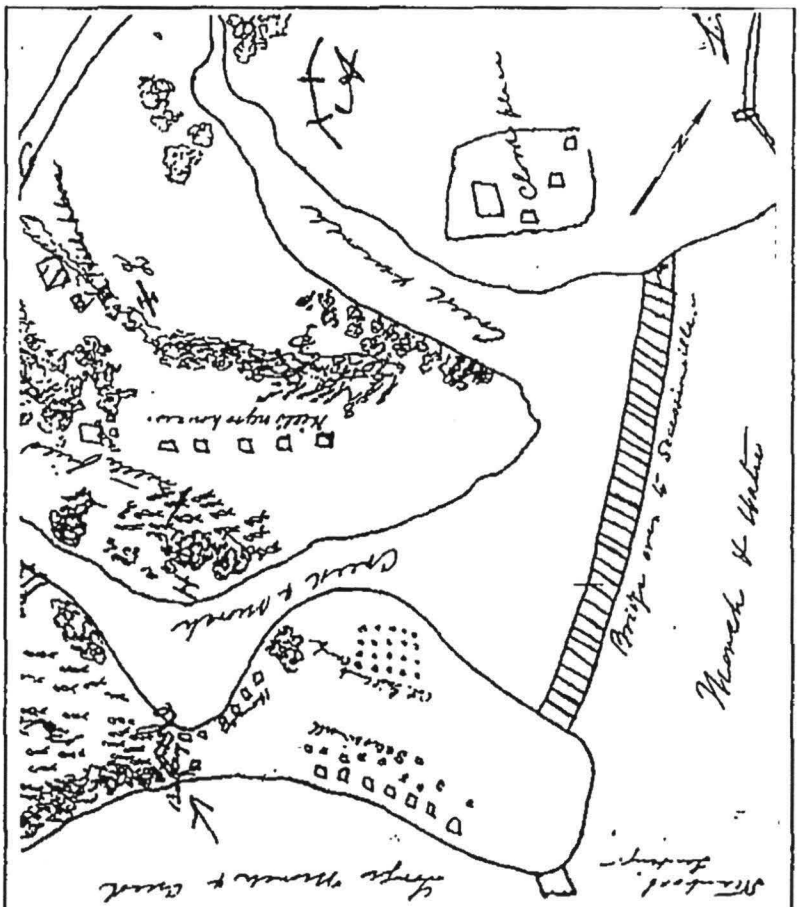

Figure 15. Capers' map of Secessionville (adapted from Butler 1992:48).

Griffith notes:

> This was no new perception born of improvements in small arms; it had been the most fundamental teaching of the European theorists since 1815. The American generals who saw fit to ignore it could doubtless be accused of following outdated foreign practice, but it was abusive practice which had long been superseded in the more advanced schools (Griffith 1989:152-153).

Of course, at Secessionville, there was little choice but to bunch together, go through the narrow neck and hope that regiments could reform for the final assault. While the Union ranks broke into confusion, at least some troops did reach the parapet of the work, where they engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the Confederate defenders. Perhaps surprisingly, they were driven off the works and fell back to reform. In addition, about this time Stevens' brigade came up to offer support.

Griffith notes the problem of accelerating the attack was common to all such engagements, observing:

> Loss of impetus and failure to achieve shock were the main enemies of the Civil War tactician who wanted to cross the vital last 33 yards to come to grips with his foe. . . . The use of massed formations turned out to be even less successful (Griffith 1989:158-159).

He notes that many carefully developed attacks degenerated into rather formless mob tactics of a skirmish attack — essentially a swarm of individuals. At Secessionville this "swarm" was never strong enough to sweep over the Confederate positions in a unified movement — with a predictable outcome.

The Union field artillery, combined with the gunboats, were also ineffective. Rather than maneuver their pieces close to the enemy line in order to blow a hole in it, they were placed safely out of musket range, resulting in largely ineffective long-range fire. Power observes that even the

gunboats' long-range shots did as much damage to Union troops as they did to the Confederate defenders (Power 1992:166).

While the Union forces attempted a flanking maneuver, the topography and vegetation prevented any effective attack. By about 7:30 in the morning, 3½ hours after the battle began, the Union troops began their withdrawal. Like most of the battles to follow in the Civil War, the Confederate troops did not capitalize on their victory by following the Federal forces. One explanation may be that, proportionally, the Confederate losses were nearly as great. Total Union casualties numbered 683 (107 killed, 487 wounded, and 89 captured or missing), representing nearly 20% of the 3,500 troops committed to the battle. Confederate casualties included 52 killed, 144 wounded, and 8 captured or missing out of a total of 1,250 troops, or about 16% (Power 1992:168).

A report in the Charleston *Mercury* of June 17, 1862 reported that the Union dead left on the field were buried in a mass grave in front of the Tower Battery, perhaps in the graveyard shown on a later twentieth century plat of the property (discussed below). In addition, additional Union dead were apparently buried at or near Grimball's plantation (Côté 1995:86). The Confederate dead were apparently transported to Charleston.

There are several maps of the battlefield. One of the more interesting, which provides considerable detail concerning the general area is reported by Côté (1995:79) to have been produced by Lt. Col. Ellison Capers, an artillery officer. This same map is attributed to a Major Manigault and given an 1864 date by Butler (1994:Figure 23). Based on the detail shown, it seems more likely that the earlier date suggested by Côté is correct. In particular, the sketch (Figure 15) shows the encampment of Lt. Col. Peter Gaillard (who assumed command during the Battle of Secessionville after Lamar was wounded). Figure 16 is a somewhat more finished version of a similar map, prepared by Stevens, while Figure 17 shows the battlefield from the perspective of the 79th New York Highlanders.

Hunter, Power reports, was furious at Benham, describing the battle as "a disastrous repulse, only redeemed by the brilliant conduct of the troops while engaged in the assault and their steadiness and patient courage when compelled to retire." He also called Benham's characterization of the battle as a "reconnaissance in force," "too puerile to deserve consideration" (Power 1992:169). Benham was sent to Washington in disgrace for courts martial. Burton recounts how a variety of political forces intervened. While Benham's rank was reduced, and later restored, he was never charged and retired from the military in 1882. He did not, however, ever again command combat troops (Burton 1970:113; Power 1992:170). James Island was evacuated by Union forces a few days later, ending their efforts to take Charleston by land.

For their part, the Confederate defenders realized the extraordinary importance of James Island to the defense of Charleston and spent much of the rest of the Civil War improving these defensive lines. Confederate Brigadier General Johnson Hagood, who served as Colonel of the 1st South Carolina Infantry, at Secessionville during its attack, later extensively quoted from General Ripley's report of the defenses:

> General Beauregard's efforts were confined principally to completing the defenses of Charleston. On James Island, with which this writer is most familiar, there became very complete. Pemberton's and Ripley's lines from Secessionville, by way of Royall's house to Fort Pemberton, were abandoned. Starting at Secessionville a line much shorter was carried to Dill's, just above Grimball's on the Stono. This was a cremaillere [crenelated] infantry breastwork of strong profile, with heavy enclosed redoubts at distances of

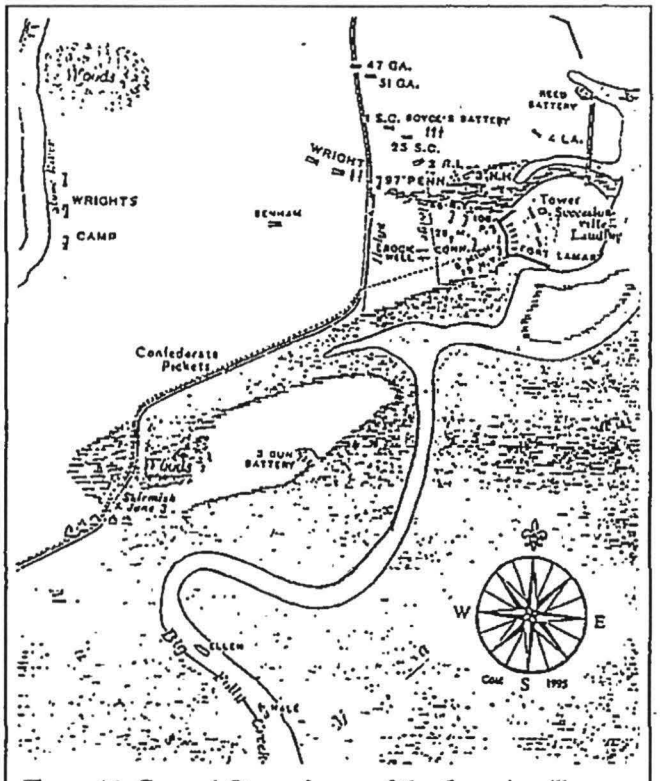

Figure 16. General Stevens' map of the Secessionville area (adapted from Côté 1995:80).

700 to 800 yards, having defensive relations to each other. On the Stono were one or two heavy redoubts securing that flank. Fort Pemberton was nearly, if not quite, dismantled. From Secessionville to Fort Johnson, along the eastern shore of the island looking towards Folley and Morris Islands, heavy batteries, opened to the rear with trenches or breastworks for infantry supports, were erected, and from Johnson to opposite the city heavy batteries for the defense of the inner harbor. Bombproofs, covered ways, rifle pits and all appliances of the engineer's art were exhausted in strengthening this system of works (Hagood 1910:169).

During late 1862 and early 1863 the Secessionville works were increased from a four-gun battery to a nine-gun fort with two power magazines and bombproofs (Butler 1994:39). By late 1863 Major John G. Pressley, of the 1st South Carolina, wrote:

> Regiment moved to Secessionville, and encamped between the line of houses and marsh towards the north. The field and staff officers occupied houses. Headquarters were in the red-top house owned by Mr. Lawton. The post was under my command. . . . This place had been greatly strengthened since we occupied it last July. Strong breastworks and formidable batteries had been built along

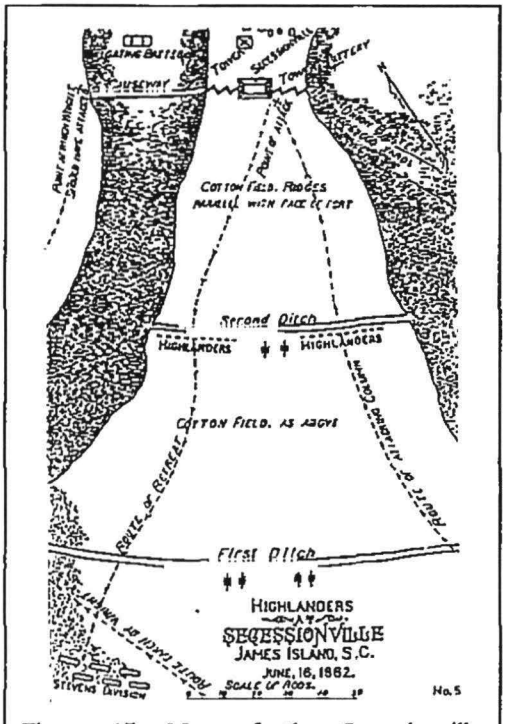

Figure 17. Map of the Secessionville battlefield (adapted from Côté 1995:82).

> the creek south of the peninsula, and just in front of
> the line of houses. A large bomb-proof had been constructed about one hundred and fifty yards northwesterly from Lawton's House [known as the Seabrook-Freer House today; see Figure 7]. Battery Lamar, across the neck of the peninsula, had been put in first-rate condition: in fact, the post was in a thoroughly defensive state (quoted in Butler 1994:43).

While Secessionville was never again attacked, the Union occupation of Morris Island, as well as the Union presence on the rivers, kept Secessionville under constant pressure. On June 20, 1863, a Confederate soldier stationed at Secessionville wrote:

> Since I wrote to you last the Yankees have shelled our camp last Wednesday they threw a few shells at our camp one only fell in camp that one fell in a few feet of several more knocked the top off a shanty with one man in it and busted in rear of the shanty (quoted in Côté 1995:89).

This same letter also recounted the complaint of Confederate troops throughout the war: "Our rations are so small that I am obliged to buy sometimes or suffer" (quoted in Côté 1995:89). In contrast, Hagood comments:

> The troops on James Island were generally hutted, and, from the facility of getting private supplies from home (they were chiefly Georgians and South Carolinians), lived tolerably well (Hagood 1910:172).

A description by Sergeant W.H. Andrews, of the First Georgia Regulars during his tour of duty in 1864 not only explains the origin of the name "Secessionville" (see Côté 1995:61-64), but also describes the site:

> This place is said to be where the first secession flag was raised, so we will take a view at our surroundings. In the first place, there is five or six houses all in a row along the edge of the marsh running north and south. In the rear of the houses there is a tower or lookout to watch the surrounding country in the day time. South of the houses we find Fort Lamar mounting several heavy guns. North of the houses is another battery of several guns. In the rear is a long bridge spanning a stream you can step over when the tide is in [sic], but when the tide is out [sic] makes for a broad expanse of water. About halfway [between] the houses and not far from them is a mound of earth known as bomb proof which is made, say four feet deep by six [feet] in width. Timbers or posts are arranged on the sides with cross timbers on top. It is them covered over in the shape of a mound some 10 to 12 feet deep in dirt and you have a place of refuge out of range of the shells (quoted in Butler 1994:43).

Talking about the Union shelling the Secessionville works, Andrews commented that one shell:

> entered the works a little farther on and the third one passed under one of the houses. His fifth one went through the roof, knocking a lot of shingles off. Several of the boys were in the house cooking at the time and by the time the shingles had reached the ground, the boys were out after them to put them around the pots, as the wood we received on the island was green pine and almost impossible to burn it (quoted in Côté 1995:97).

One of the more interesting views of Secessionville is an 1863 watercolor entitled, "Secessionville, S.C., from Black Island, Septr. 4th, 1863" which is at the Morris Museum of Art in Augusta, Georgia. Côté suggests that it was drawn by either a Union soldier or perhaps a correspondent for a newspaper, possibly Theodore R. Davis of *Harper's Weekly* fame (Côté 1995:93). Almost certainly the view was acquired from one of the "crow's nests" that were used as observation posts by the Union forces. Although the painting is dismissed by Butler (1994:44) as "stylized," Côté places greater confidence in it, noting the painter:

> pictured six substantial houses and an artillery battery fronting on the Great Sound, and eleven other structures behind them. The spacing of the houses corresponds closely with the lot descriptions in deeds from the 1850s. His depiction of fifteen civilian and two military structures agrees closely with the seventeen village structures shown on a map of the engagement drawn by Lt. Col. Ellison Capers. There were seven houses in the village; one was dismantled when the water battery was constructed at the tip of the peninsula. The single error in this painting was the artist's confusion over the tall, wooden Confederate observation tower, which loomed behind the village. He mistook it for the spire of a church (of which Secessionville village had none), and rendered the tower as a church steeple with a cross atop it. . . . (Côté 1995:91).

Summarizing, Côté notes that the painting reveals that structures were more numerous than previously thought, that the painter carefully reproduced the village's actual architecture, that the village had a boardwalk along its south edge, that there was more than one street, that the large scale removal of trees for the abattis did not seriously affect the village, that many of the earthworks were not yet built by 1863, and that the water battery (built to protect the steamboat landing) may have been added later.

The Secessionville houses apparently did not begin to disappear until early 1865 — shortly before the area was evacuated by the Confederate troops. On January 13, 1865, Brigadier General Alexander Schimmelfennig, commander of the U.S. Army, Northern District of the Department of the South, commented:

> On James Island, from Fort Johnson to Pringle, they have been busy repairing and clearing the ground to the front and rear. The buildings at Secessionville are disappearing. More than anywhere else, however, has the enemy displayed activity on the forts and batteries on John's Island; there also buildings have disappeared and batteries been unmasked. This would seemingly tend to show that the enemy is preparing for a vigorous defense; intercepted dispatches, however, rather point in the direction of evacuation (*Official Records*, Series I, vol. 47, part 1, p. 1009).

While a defense may have been contemplated, on February 17, 1865 Confederate forces in and around Charleston withdrew, joining the remnants of the Army of Tennessee in North Carolina. On February 19, Lt. General W.J. Hardee reported to Jefferson Davis, "Charleston was successfully evacuated Friday night and Saturday morning" (*Official Records*, Series I, vol. 47, part 1, p. 1071). On February 18, while the Confederate forces were quietly leaving Charleston, Company A of the 21st U.S. Colored Troops entered the abandoned fortifications at Secessionville.

The U.S. Army occupied a number of the James Island works and during this period a number of engineers were busily mapping the fortifications and inventorying the armament abandoned by the Confederates. General Q.A. Gillmore, commander of the Union forces in the

Charleston area was responsible for much of this work (Gillmore 1865, 1868). In particular, he itemized the defenses of Charleston, noting that "interior defensive line" consisted on Battery Ryan, Battery Tatam, Battery Haskell, Battery Cheves, while the "exterior or siege line" consisted of Battery Tynes, Battery Pringle, Fort Trenholm, Battery Leroy, Battery No. 1, Battery No. 2, Battery No. 3, Battery No. 4, Battery No. 5, and the Secessionville Works.

Gillmore observed that the exterior or siege line:

> was constructed at a later period than the Interior Line, was much more advantageously located, and was, therefore, the chief reliance for defense. Its right, at Battery Tyrnes, rests on the Stono about two miles and a half of Fort Pemberton, while its left envelopes the village of Secessionville — the scene of Brigadier-General Benham's attack in 1862 — almost surrounded by swamps, and located directly upon the deep creeks and bayoux emptying into Folly River and Light House Inlet (Gillmore 1868:20).

Concerning the strength of the Secessionville works:

> Secessionville Works
>
> These form a large entrenched camp, the only approach to while, from the front, is by a narrow neck held by:
>
> Battery Lamar
>
> *Armament*
>
> One 42 pdr., rifled and banded.
> Three 8 in. siege howitzers.
> One 24 pdr. smooth-bore siege gun.
>
> This work is provided with a magazine and a large bomb proof.
>
> Secessionville Water Batteries
>
> *Armament*
>
> Three 32 pdr. guns, rifled and banded.
> One 24 pdr. guns, rifled and banded.
> One 24 pdr. rifle.
> Two 32 pdr. Navy smooth bores.
> One 24 pdr. iron howitzer.
> Two 6 pdr. iron field guns, smooth bore.
>
> These works extend from the left of Battery Lamar, along the edge of the marsh, to the bridge leading to Clark's Point. The line is indented, and has one bomb-proof shelter and two magazines. The guns bear on Black and Long Islands and the creeks adjacent thereto. A line of rifle-pits runs across the marsh and water to Clark's Point, to prevent boat parties from landing in rear of the siege line (Gillmore 1868).

Accompanying this report were Gillmore's map and plans, entitled "Plans and Sections of Rebel Works on James Island" which reveals the layout of the fortifications, including the location of the two remaining Secessionville houses, the abandoned guns, and the various earthworks (Figures 18 and 19).

About the same time, in the Spring of 1865, S.R. Seibert took the only known photograph of Secessionville (Figure 20). Reproduced by Côté (1995:105) from the National Archives RG 165-C, Photograph C-775, it shows the two surviving waterfront houses, Fort Lamar, the Secessionville earthworks, a portion of the Clark's Point water battery fortifications, and a number of frame

structures. Côté describes these frame structures as "huts built as troop quarters." A number of objects in the picture (the east side of the Seabrook-Freer house and the view of Fort Lamar to the right on the horizon) would indicate that the photo was taken looking west (Figure 21). As well, the view of a large mound (considered as part of the bombproof by Butler 1994), determined to be a corner of the earthworks, visible in the left foreground would indicate that Seibert's camera was probably set up somewhere on top of the Clark's Point water battery walls. Unfortunately, the type of camera and lens used are unknown, and the exact position and angle of the shot cannot be determined. As can be seen in the photo, in the foreground there are a series of huts facing one another which run north-south. As well, a second row of huts in the background look to be running east-west. The distance between them seems to indicate that each row faced upon a road or street.

Figure 18. Gillmore's map of James Island showing Confederate defenses after the Civil War (Gillmore 1868: Plate 2).

Côté also states that these huts were "later occupied by the Freedmen" shortly after they were no longer needed by soldiers. This seems reasonable, but he goes on to note that the waterfront residences were "torn down to furnish the lumber for these," which seems unlikely if General Schimmelfennig was correct and the Riversville houses weren't being demolished until just before the encampment was abandoned. It may be unreasonable to expect that we can identify a one-to-one correlation of demolition and building, especially if the demolition was conducted in anticipation of a spirited defense, as implied by General Beauregard's complaints that General Hardee was still hesitating his abandonment of Charleston as late as February 16 (*Official Records*, Series I, vol. 47, part 1, p. 1048).

Secessionville in the Postbellum

One of the earliest accounts of Secessionville after the war is that of Esther Hill Hawks, who visited the village on May 13, 1865:

> A ride of six miles [from Fort Johnson], with an occasional deviation to visit the "works" of a few families, brought us to the rebel stronghold, Secessionville. There are but two small framed houses, these were used as Hd. Qrs. and the huts for the soldiers are scattered several acres irregularly. They are built of rough logs and mud, with thatched roofs, a chimney on the side opposite the door, and rough brick floors. . . . There are over 300 people now at this place, and it would take a stout heart to ride unmoved, among them — dirty ragged, *starving* expresses their condition. . . . We rode around the fortifications, which are of great strength and finely made dismounted and went into the house, formerly head qrs. of the rebs. Our shot and shell have shattered it considerably but it is still in *usable* condition and the people told me they were keeping it for *school* (Schwartz 1984:141-142).

By November 1866, when she re-visited

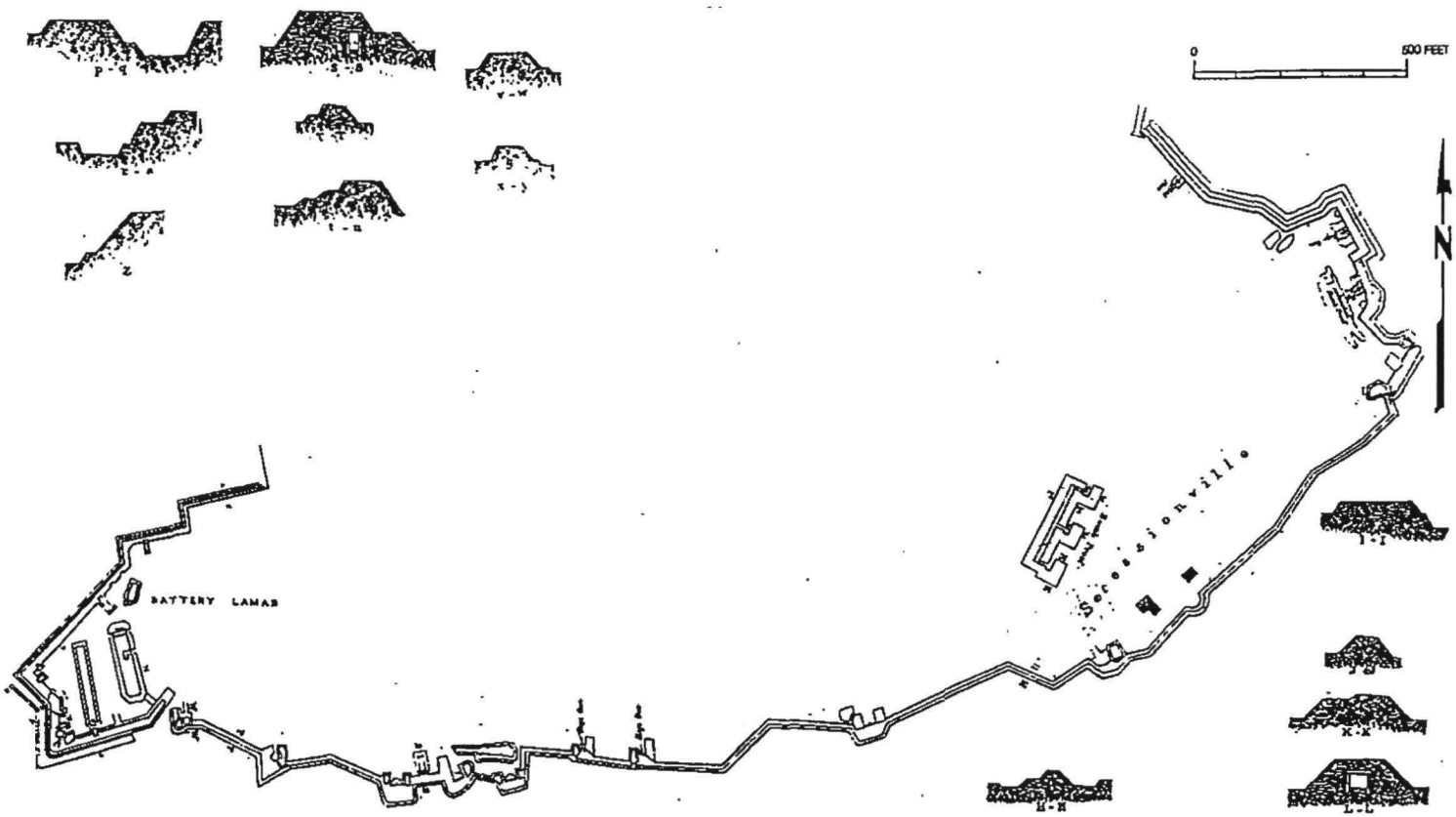

Figure 19. Gillmore's drawing of Fort Lamar and the Secessionville works (adapted from Gillmore 1868:Plate 4).

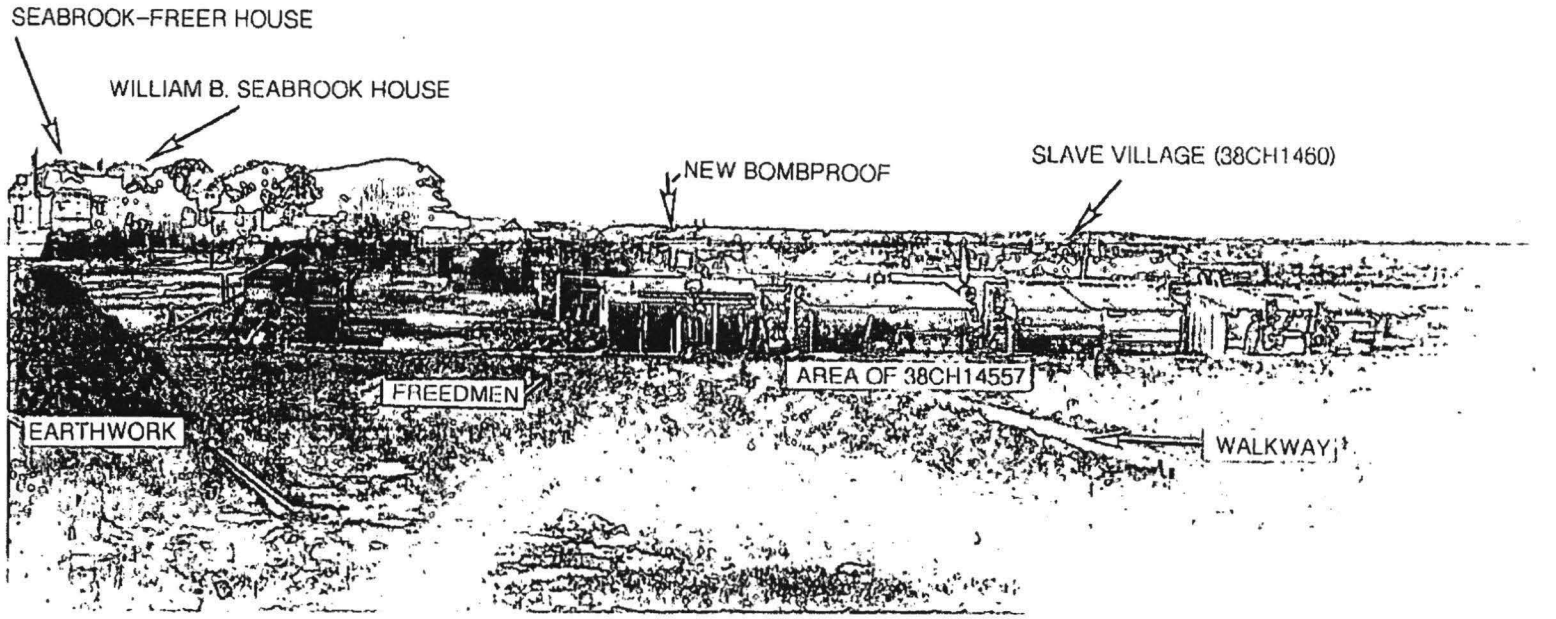

Figure 20. Secessionville's Confederate camp occupied by Freedmen in 1865 (National Archives, RG 165-C, Photograph C-775).

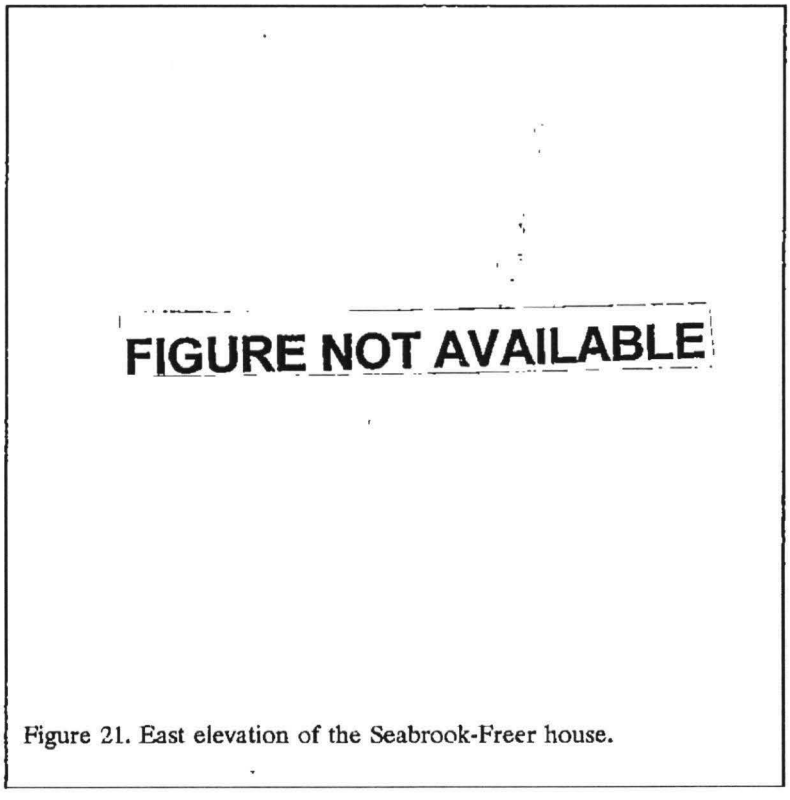

Figure 21. East elevation of the Seabrook-Freer house.

Secessionville, the house was being lived in by a black family (Schwartz 1984:161).

Côté (1995:109) reports that the Seabrook and Freer families returned to Riversville, now renamed Secessionville, in the late 1860s, apparently evicting the freedmen and re-establishing their homes. William Seabrook died at his Secessionville home in 1870 and by 1872 his 258 acre plantation was divided into three tracts. His widow, Elizabeth, received the 72-acre portion east of Fort Lamar (Charleston County RMC, DB B16, p. 537; Figure 22).

Although impossible to determine with any certainty, Côté (1995:109) suggests that the bombproof near the village and the earthworks near the two surviving houses were fairly quickly leveled as the area was converted back into farmland.

Like other areas of South Carolina, however, it is entirely possible that Secessionville changed little from the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. The 1919 topographic map of the area shows four structures on or about Clark's Point — three south of Fort Lamar road at the southeastern edge of the tract and one north of the road just south of the slough that forms the western boundary of the project area and just east of the earthworks, and one north of the road at the eastern end of the tract. The remainder of the tract is void of any structures (Figure 23).

The October 1939 aerial photography of the project area (CDV 1-30 shows the eastern third of the peninsula and CDV 1-44 shows the western two-thirds of the tract) might actually be of some assistance in understanding the eventual development of Secessionville had National Archives not transferred the original 9-inch negatives to 35 mm format. Currently the negatives are too blurry and indistinct to offer any except the most general appraisal of the area. For example, they suggest that the earthworks along the southeastern periphery had already been leveled. Elsewhere there is a dense stand of trees at the edge of cultivated fields.

In 1942 the Seabrook plantation had been re-united and was being passed from the estate of W. Edwin Thayer to Dr. Robert M. Hope. A plat of the 254 acre tract was produced showing some details (Figure 24). In particular it reveals that a number of structures were located southwest of Clark's Point. These include a tenant house located south of the slough which forms the western boundary of the survey tract and a barn just south of this. To the southeast are the still extant Rivers and Seabrook homes. To the rear of the Seabrook home is a single servant's quarters. Other than the above structures, the plat indicates that the current survey tract was void of any structures and that only open fields existed on or near Clark's Point north of Fort Lamar Road at this time.

A 1957 aerial photograph (GS-VPL 1-77; see Figure 25) shows a well constructed and paved

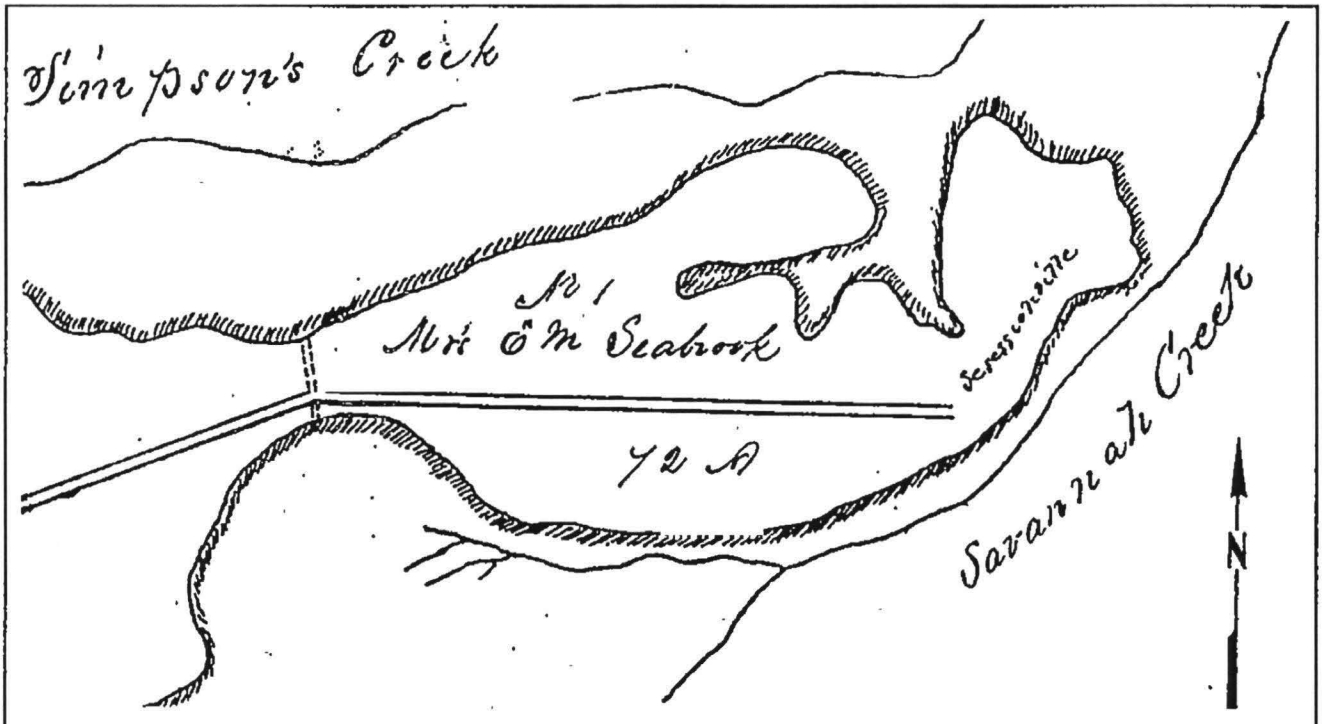

Figure 22. Plat showing the Secessionville peninsular in 1872 (Charleston County RMC, PB B, p. 37).

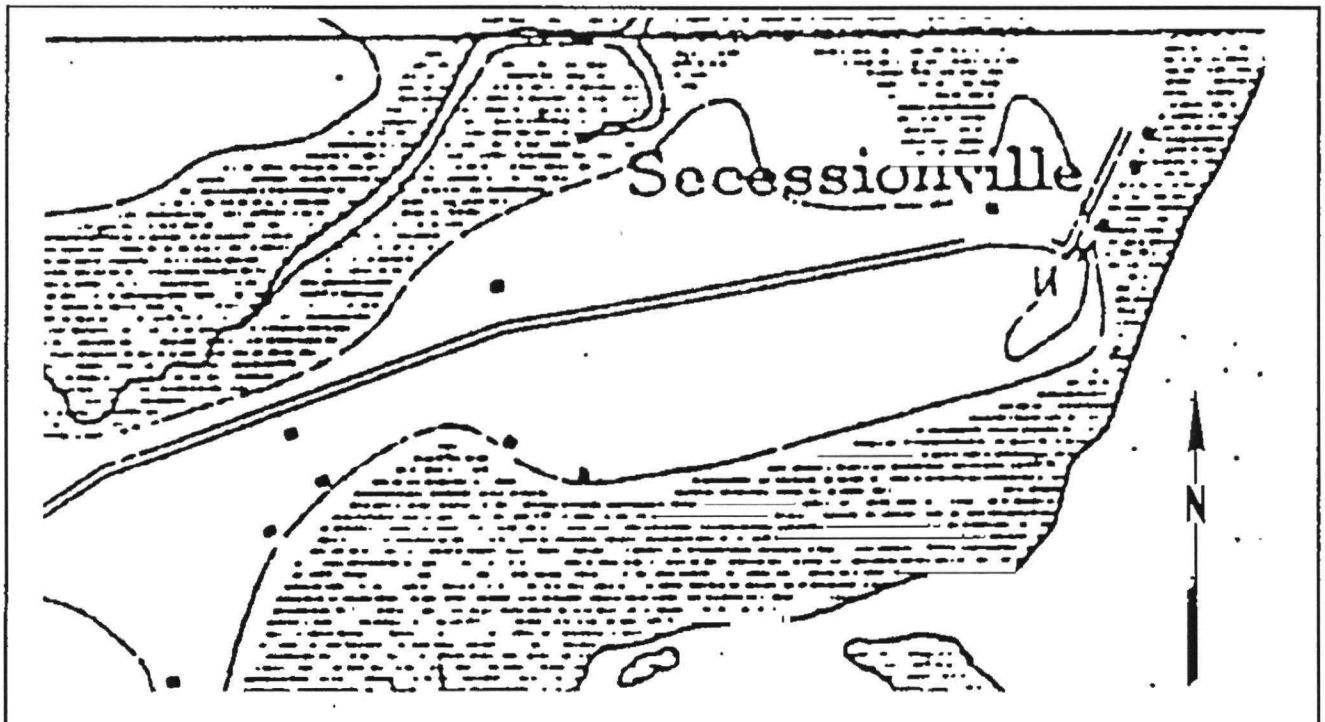

Figure 23. Portion of the 1919 James Island topographic map showing the Secessionville peninsula.

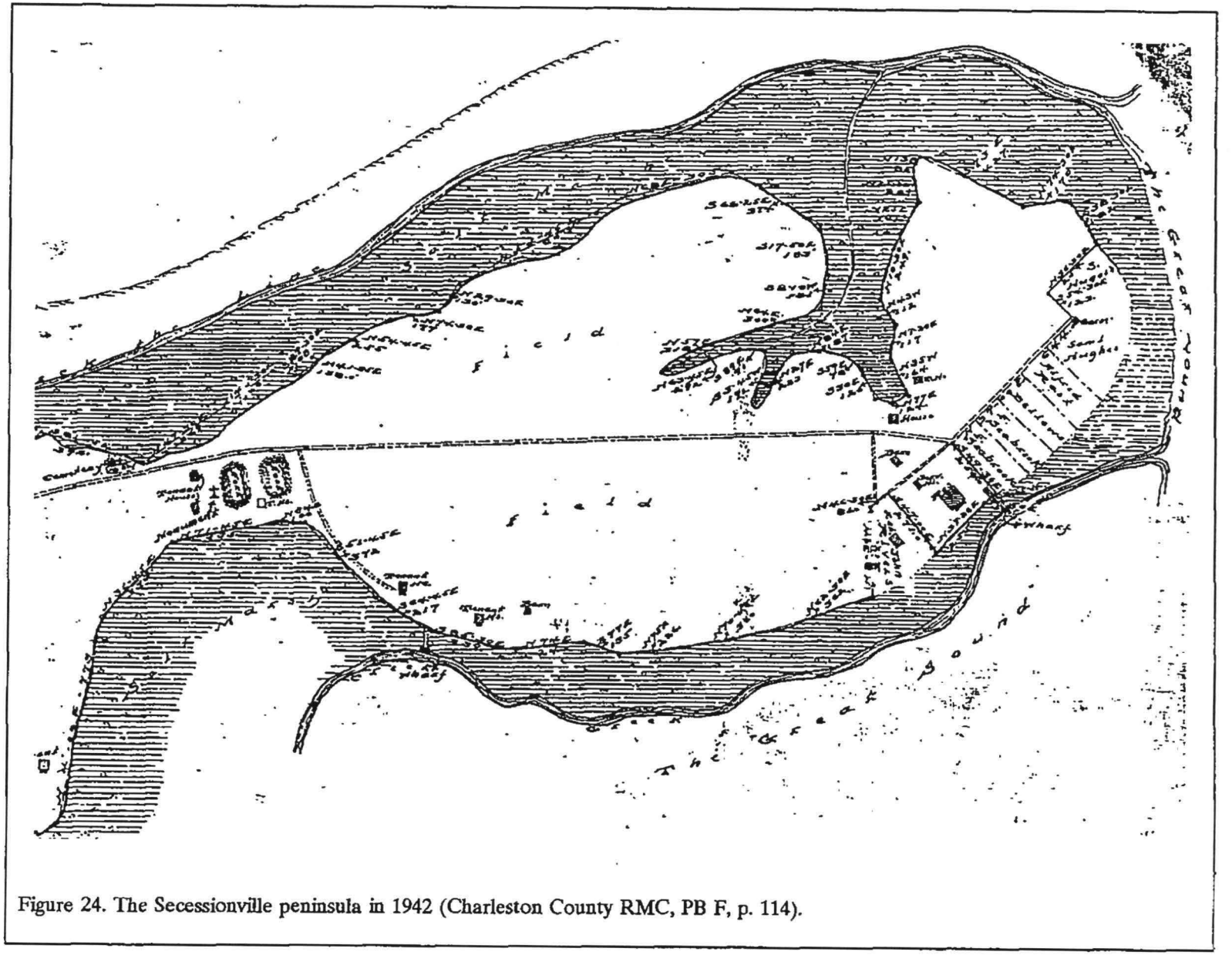

Figure 24. The Secessionville peninsula in 1942 (Charleston County RMC, PB F, p. 114).

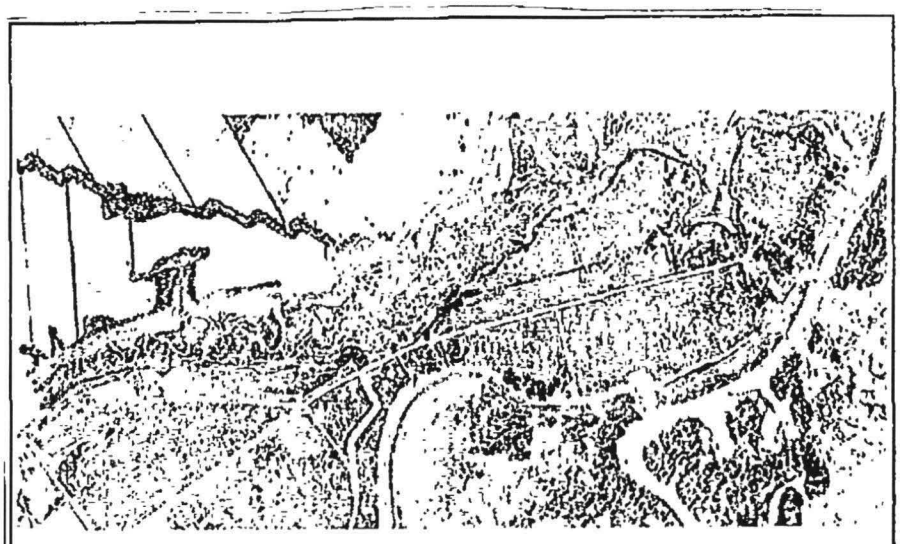

Figure 25. Portion of 1957 aerial photograph GS-VPL 1-77 showing Secessionville.

Fort Lamar Road. As well, a number of fortifications, such as Fort Lamar, its associated earthworks, and the Clark's Point water battery are clearly visible and match exactly Gillmore's drawings. At the western edge of Clark's Point there is a dirt road, although there is no indication of the barn shown on the 1942 plat. Nor is there any indication of the tenant house situated across the road from the barn over a decade earlier. By 1957 there were a series of eight houses built along the southeast edge of the water, including the Rivers, Seabrook, and Freer-Seabrook houses. The water battery in this area has also been leveled, being left intact only north of the houses, where trees mark the location of the unfinished bombproof and gun emplacements drawn by Gillmore. The earthworks completing the northern edge of the Secessionville defenses can still be plainly identified, including a second gun emplacement. At the location of the bridge connecting Secessionville to Clark's Point a white line can be seen in the marsh, revealing the possible presence of a plank road across the marsh.

Twenty years later, in 1977, an aerial (GS-VEHU 1-23; Figure 26) shows virtually no changes in the project area or along the southern portion of Clark's Point although the shoreline growth is denser, especially in the eastern portion where the water battery is located. South of Fort Lamar Road there seem to be no additions to those houses found in the 1957 aerial photo and no structures have visibly impacted the project area. It is likely that this field went out of cultivation because of its small size.

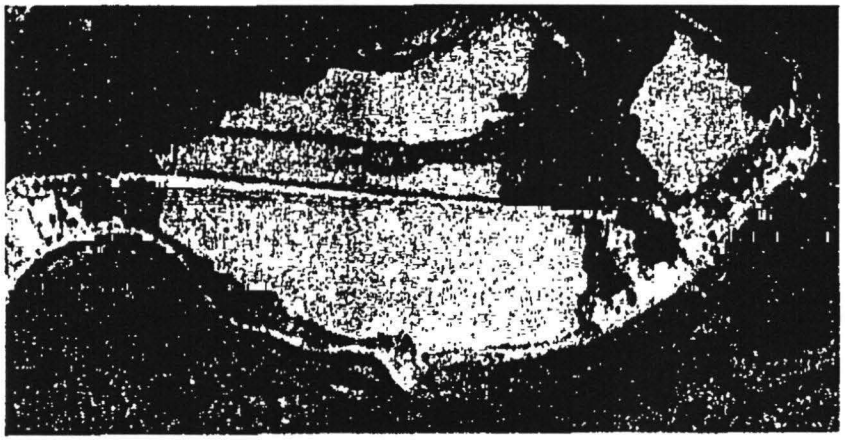

Figure 26. Portion of 1977 aerial photograph GS-VEHU 1-23 showing Secessionville.

FIELD SURVEY AND RESULTS

Field Methodology

The initially proposed field techniques involved the excavation of shovel tests at 100 feet intervals on transects spaced 100 feet apart on those areas of the tract which exhibited high, well-drained soils. Since there were no areas of poorly drained soils anticipated, we did not foresee a situation where the shovel testing interval would be increased to a greater distance. In addition, the previous discovery of archaeological sites on the study tract further emphasized the need for relatively close interval investigation.

Under normal survey circumstances, if sites are identified through the transect shovel testing, additional tests are normally excavated at closer intervals to obtain data on site boundaries, artifact quantity and diversity, site integrity, and temporal affiliation. However, since archaeological sites, with defined boundaries, had been previously recorded for the project area (see Figure 6) using shovel testing, we felt that additional close interval testing would be unnecessary.

As a compromise measure, allowing greater data recovery than traditional shovel testing at 100 foot intervals on transects spaced 100 feet apart, all of the project area was examined using shovel tests at 50 foot intervals on transects every 50 feet. This was done in an effort to accurately locate the posited Confederate encampment within the southern portion, as well as accurately define the earthwork perimeter and internal loci, such as battery positions and bombproof locations, in the northeastern section of Fort Lamar.

All soil would be screened through ¼-inch mesh, with each test numbered sequentially. Each test would measure about 1 foot square and would normally be taken to subsoil. All cultural remains would be bagged by provenience, with the exception of brick, mortar and shell, which would be noted and discarded in the field. Notes would be maintained for profiles at any sites encountered.

The information required for completion of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site forms would be collected and photographs would be taken, if warranted in the opinion of the field director. For this survey, an archaeological site was defined as three or more artifacts within a 200 foot area. Modern garbage (dating to the past fifty years) was generally disregarded unless associated with earlier remains.

In addition, approximately 75% of the survey tract had surface visibility at or above 50%. In these areas we conducted the normal shovel test survey, but also included a pedestrian survey. Initially we anticipated flagging individual artifacts, allowing for the determination of concentrations. We rapidly discovered, however, that the artifacts were widely dispersed, with no clear concentrations. The plotting of individual artifacts was abandoned for the identification, instead, of maximum spread or dispersion of materials. Positive shovel tests would be used to plot the site core and the surface scatter would be used to identify the maximum extent of the site. Given the history of plowing, the actual site limits probably lie somewhere between these minimum and maximum boundaries.

Finally, in an effort to further refine the site survey, we incorporated a metal detector survey into this research. This work was conducted using a Tesoro Bandito II™ with an 8-inch concentric soil (electromagnetic type operating at 10KHz). The instrument has the capability to operate in either an all metal mode or discriminate mode (which eliminates ferrous metal response). The all metal mode is the industry standard VFL type which does not require motion of the search coil for proper operation. The discriminate mode is based on motion of the search coil, but allows control over the detector's response to ferrous metals.

Since the goal of this work was to explore the density of *all* artifacts, not just to locate military items (such as brass buttons or lead ammunition), the instrument was initially operated in an all metal mode. This, however, produced an extraordinary number of very strong positive hits. We excavated a number of these to determine the types of materials being identified and with only one exception, a fragment of exploded shot, we were identifying aluminum beer cans and other recent garbage.

In an attempt to eliminate as much of this trash as possible, we switched to the discriminate mode. We found that we were still flooded with false hits, primarily aluminum fragments which cannot be eliminated. This situation was previously noted by Butler during his survey of the area south of Fort Lamar Road:

> The usefulness of the metal detector, however, was hampered by hundreds (if not thousands) of aluminum can fragments. Aluminum cannot be rejected by discrimination. Apparently the project area is heavily used by dove hunters who annually discard their aluminum beer and pop cans on the surface. The cans are subsequently cut into pieces when the fields are bushhogged and disked into the ground when the surface is plowed (Butler 1994:58).

As in his survey area, the fields north of Fort Lamar Road are used for bird hunting and the quantity of aluminum is high. Just as in Butler's study, we did recover other obviously historic material, but the density was so low compared to the trash that this technique was abandoned.

A total of 13 transects were shovel tested (Figure 27). All were spaced 50 feet apart, with shovel tests excavated every 50 feet. The majority of the survey tract was also relatively open, allowing the examination of the ground surface. The only exceptions were the wooded areas along the marsh edge, particularly in the southwestern tip of the survey tract and the interior of Fort Lamar and its associated bombproof. The majority of the tract consisted of an open field which had been recently bush hogged along with a few windrows. This allowed approximately 50% surface visibility.

As previously mentioned, the study area was explored using transects and shovel tests at 50 foot intervals, with a total of 123 shovel tests excavated within the survey tract. If areas of standing water, marsh and thicket are excluded, the survey tract is reduced to approximately 10 acres, resulting in about 13 shovel tests per acre.

Laboratory Methodology

The cleaning of the recovered artifacts was begun in Charleston during the field work and completed in Columbia. Cataloging of the specimens was conducted at the Chicora laboratories in Columbia. All items were assessed for conservation needs during this laboratory processing. Only one item was encountered which warranted conservation and all items were either curated in their current condition or were drawn and discarded (as noted on the specimen catalogs).

These collections were accepted for curation by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and are curated under their individual site numbers, using this institutions accessioning system. Specimens were packed in plastic bags with an archival tag in each bag indicating provenience information and boxed. Field notes were prepared on pH neutral, alkaline buffered paper. All original field notes, with archival copies, are also curated with this facility.

Analysis of the collections followed those professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains. Prehistoric pottery was classified using common coastal South Carolina typologies (DePratter 1979; Trinkley 1983). The temporal, cultural, and typological classifications of the historic remains follow Noel Hume (1970), Miller (1980, 1991), Price (1970), and South (1977). In general, neither of the sites produced especially large collections, so analysis is limited to simple,

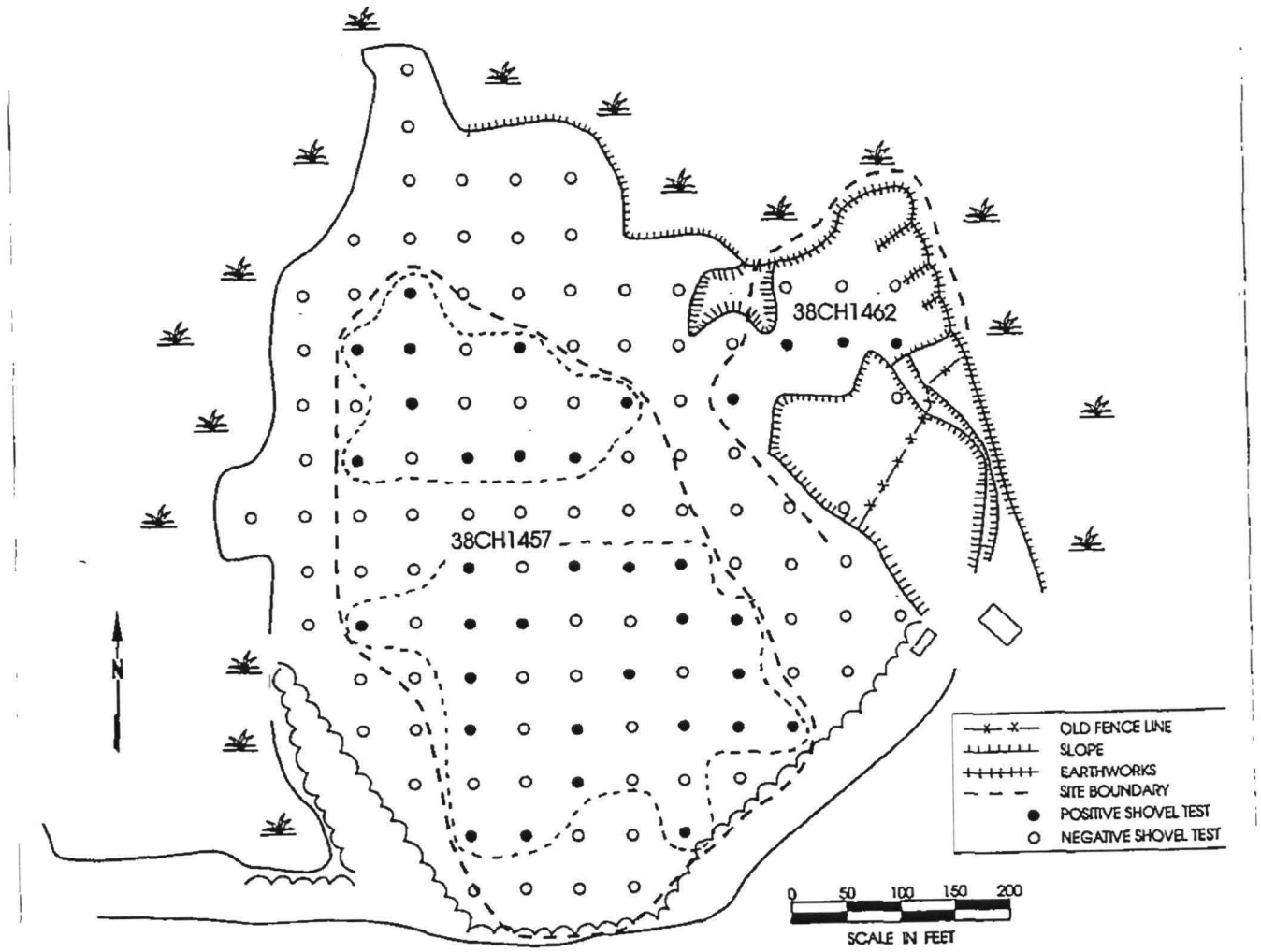

Figure 27. Transects and identified sites in project area (38CH1457 and 38CH1462).

descriptive statements adequate to support assessments of eligibility.

Results of the Survey

As a result of the field survey two previously identified sites, 38CH1457 and 38CH1462, were relocated and assessed. No new sites were identified, although the boundaries of these previously identified sites have been modified. Each of these sites will be briefly explored in this section.

38CH1457

Two previous surveys have been conducted at Clark's Point. One, a pedestrian survey supplemented by informant interviews, was conducted by archaeologists for the South Carolina Heritage Trust in 1992 (Judge 1992). The survey identified two loci within the survey tract. Locus 8 was identified as the potential site of the Confederate encampment associated with the Fort Lamar channel battery. Locus 9 was described as an area "of nineteenth century historic artifact scatter" (Butler 1994:67,69).

The Brockington and Associates survey (Butler 1994) was a systematic, intensive shovel test of Clark's Point. Conducted at 20 m intervals, this survey resulted in the discovery of a multi-component prehistoric and historic site. This included a prehistoric smear across the majority of the site, as well as a concentration of nineteenth century artifacts recovered from the southern portion (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1457 site form). The concentration of artifacts within the southern portion of the tract was described as possibly being the area where the Confederate encampment was located. Unfortunately, no published report was filed detailing the findings of this study.

According to the Brockington site map (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1457 site form), the prehistoric component of the site extended roughly 400 feet northeast-southwest by 400 feet northwest-southeast. This would cover an area of 160,000 square feet and roughly encompass the entire survey tract of approximately 10 acres. The current survey was found to be consistent with the Brockington survey which found this component to extend 500 feet north-south by 350 feet east-west, or approximately covering an area of 175,000 square feet; a difference in area of only 9%.

According to the site map, the historic component of the site extended roughly 300 feet northeast-southwest by 200 feet northwest-southeast. This would cover an area of 60,000 square feet square and roughly encompass the southern portion of the survey tract. This area was defined as the location of the Confederate encampment associated with the Fort Lamar Clark's Point water battery.

The current study, much like the Brockington and Associates survey, found only one concentrations of mid-nineteenth century artifacts within the survey tract. These concentrations were determined by density studies related to the distribution of nineteenth century artifacts and indicate a mid-nineteenth century occupation. These concentrations are thought to represent the remains of the Civil War period Confederate encampment found at Clark's Point. Although the current survey changed the overall size of the site, 500 feet north-south by 400 feet east west, its central UTM location (E599180 N3619080) is still considered accurate.

Site 38CH1457 is situated in an open field A sandy knoll is centrally located within the field, although it is barely perceptible to the naked eye (Figure 27). The elevation is just under 15 feet above mean sea level (AMSL). The topography slopes slightly toward the marsh to the north and towards the slough to the west. Likewise the area at the northern tip of the field is almost level with the central portion of the site, possibly accounted for by the major earthmoving activity of building and reducing the northern ramparts of the water battery (38CH1462).

The soils are classified as Wando Series and this is reflected in the soil profiles. These reveal a very sandy soil with a distinct Ap horizon laying conformably on a C horizon subsoil. The

typical shovel test contains 0.9 foot to upwards of 2.0 feet of dark brown sand (7.5YR3/2) on a brownish yellow (10YR6/6) sand. Shovel tests were typically excavated 0.3 to 0.4 foot into this subsoil to determine whether there was an intact prehistoric lens.

Vegetation at the site includes areas of second growth forest along the marsh edges, with a centrally located fallow field. Although a particularly dense second growth forest is present at the peninsula tip, no artifacts were recovered from any of the shovel tests in this area. The vast majority of the site consists of open fallow fields. Conditions at the time of the Heritage Trust (Judge 1992) or Brockington and Associates (Butler 1994) surveys are unknown, although, the Brockington site report described the survey tract as being "fallow agricultural fields" (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1457 site form).

An intensive surface collection was conducted using the established 50 foot by 50 foot grid. Although no materials were collected from the surface a relatively modern brick structure was encountered just north of Lamar Road. A brick fireplace and chimney was located 10 feet north of the unpaved portion of Fort Lamar Road, shortly after it terminates in several dirt drives. It is constructed from modern machine bricks. Overall dimension of the chimney are 5.9 feet in width and 6.5 feet in length. The firebox measures 4.2 feet in width, 3.3 feet in depth, and 3.3 feet in height. The flu is 8.0 feet in height. There is no evidence of any structural walls or debris associated with the chimney. The interior walls of the firebox are unburned and it is suspected that any firebrick which may have existed has been removed.

This structure cannot be immediately identified on any of the maps, plats, or aerial photographs of the project area. The function of this structure is unknown although it is suspected to be a free standing barbecue. The firebox and chimney are considered intrusive and it is only mentioned in this study for the attention of future investigators

Site 38CH1457 was explored by Transects 1 through 13 and a total of 114 shovel tests were excavated in the general area. Of these 56, or about 49%, were positive. This included both positive prehistoric and historic shovel tests. When prehistoric shovel tests are excluded, this figure drops to 48 positive shovel tests, or 42%, a difference of only 7%. Twelve of the shovel tests from the current survey produced prehistoric remains — 17 sherds. The majority of these, 59%, were small, under 1-inch in diameter, and therefore not suitable for any detailed analysis. A quick examination, however, reveals that two are Thom's Creek Plain, two represent Deptford Plain, while four are Stallings Creek Plain sherds. The other appear to be eroded Woodland specimens.

Historic ceramics and glass remains constituted a majority of the artifacts recovered from the site. A total of 55 artifacts were recovered. These included 30 fragments of "black" bottle glass, four fragments of clear bottle glass, one fragment of blue-green bottle glass, two fragments of aqua bottle glass, and one fragment of brown bottle glass. Ceramics included two Ginger beer bottle ceramics, four green alkaline-glaze stoneware ceramics, one purple transfer printed whiteware ceramic, one blue transfer printed whiteware ceramic, and two undecorated whiteware ceramics. Other materials included four fragments of cut nails, two pieces of coal, and brick. Overall, this collection appears to have remains characteristic of Civil War sites (such as "black" glass from beer and stout bottles and ginger beer bottles).

Although no catalogs for the Brockington survey were available (the site form specifies only the recovery of prehistoric ceramics, nineteenth century ceramics and glass, brick fragments, and lead shot), from the attached site map we do know that eight of the 30 positive shovel tests (27%) produced only prehistoric remains, while 14, or 46%, produced only historic material. The remaining eight (14%) positive shovel tests contained a combination of both prehistoric and historic artifacts. In general, this collection produced more positive shovel tests yielding prehistoric artifacts but found considerably fewer positive shovel tests containing historic materials

than recovered during Chicora's survey.

Although the Heritage Trust survey found two loci (Figure 6) there overall distribution of historic artifacts found at the site (Figure 27) blur together based on their temporal range and spatial context. They remain distinct only within the Heritage Trust survey. We agree with the Brockington survey that the two loci should be combined and labeled as the Fort Lamar Confederate encampment.

There are a number of reasons for this assessment. Although no surface remains were evident at Clark's Point, a dearth of cultural remains on the surface should not subsume that subsurface remains are not present.[1] It has been found in both prehistoric and historic studies that as fields are plowed, material remains are dispersed and mixed. Although the lateral placement of artifacts has been found to affect their relationship with subsurface features, this effect may be reduced through the use of large collection units such as those used during the current survey (Roper 1976). While it is possible for subsurface remains to be present, even in heavily plowed fields, the Chicora survey did not provide the data to either identify specific structural locations or determine the potential for subsurface remains. In addition, the minor distance (25 feet) between loci of mid-nineteenth century materials suggests that the spatial distribution of artifacts may have been affected by cultivation activities.

Historical documentation, as well as our examination of other sites located near the survey tract, show that cultivation along the peninsula has been intense (Trinkley 1996a, 1996b). In spite of this, the tight clustering of artifacts and the correlation of these clusters, when compared to the historic and photographic record, suggests that cultivation within the survey tract may not have been as severe as in other areas. This may be due to the continued use of extant structures from the period of study, i.e. the Seabrook-Freer house and the continued use of the Confederate encampment by freedmen, as well as the division of the southern portion of Clark's Point into several fenced lots. This may have precluded the intense cultivation which is found in other sections of the peninsula. Regardless, there is sufficient ambiguity that additional testing within the southern portion would be necessary to more closely identify structure locations and evaluate subsurface remains.

If individual structure locations can be ascertained and if there is any potential recovery of intact architectural or refuse features, then the site may be very significant in determining the location of the Confederate encampment. Consequently, we recommend this site as eligible for inclusion into the National Register of Historic Places.

38CH1462

This site was also first identified by the Brockington and Associates survey in 1992. Again, no report was produced and all we have to compare it to is the site map which is attached to site file 38CH1457. As evidenced by the site map, no subsurface testing was conducted within the confines of the Fort Lamar water battery, nor within the limits of the unfinished bombproof located just south and west of the battery. The site was reported to measure 197 feet by 197 feet and cover an area of approximately 38,809 square feet.

The current survey conducted shovel testing within the battery and unfinished bombproof, as well as producing a detailed drawing of both areas (Figure 27). The central UTM coordinates are E599560 N3619220 and the site is estimated to encompass an area measuring 350 feet north-south by 220 feet east-west, or 77,000 square feet. The site core is defined as the

[1]A surface survey and shovel testing at 4 m intervals of a 5,000 square foot area of Pritchard Shipyard (38CH1049) on Hobcaw Creek in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina in August and October of 1993 produced very few cultural remains. This area had been heavily plowed for 100+ years, yet backhoe scrapping later that same year revealed the presence of brick features associated with the operation of the shipyard and the recovery of over 12,000 artifacts. As well, there are concerns related to the effectiveness of shovel testing in the specific discovery of Civil War period encampments (See Legg and Smith 1989:132-133).

area within the extant earthworks and unfinished bombproof. Although portions of the site perhaps extend northwest along the marsh bank approximately 260 feet, this area is poorly defined either from erosion or the physical removal of the earthen walls erected during the construction of the fortification. This portion of the Fort Lamar water battery is no longer considered, archaeologically, a viable portion of the extant earthworks along the northeastern portion of Clark's Point.

Soils are classified as Wando Series. Shovel tests revealed an Ap horizon of 1.1 to 1.8 feet of dark brown sand (7.5YR3/2) overlying a brownish yellow (10YR6/6) C horizon sand. Shovel tests were typically excavated 0.3 to 0.4 foot into this subsoil to ascertain if there was an intact prehistoric lens.

Vegetation includes both areas of second growth forest (at the marsh edge to the north and east), as well as a dense growth from the eastern shoreline to the western edge of the unfinished bombproof. Although a majority of the fortifications interior has been recently cleared, heavy debris on the surface made surface visibility poor, approximately 20% (Figure 28). Only those areas along the tops of the embankments and their corresponding slopes offered any true ground visibility, approximately 50%.

The site was explored by transects 10 through 13. A total of nine shovel tests were excavated in the general interior of the fortification and the bombproof. Of these, four, or about 44%, were positive. As can be seen in Figure 26, these positive shovel tests are clustered in the central portion of the site just north of the bombproof. No surface materials were recovered during the course of the survey.

Of the four positive shovel tests in this survey, none produced any prehistoric remains. Historic materials consisted of three fragments of black glass, one undecorated whiteware ceramic and a trace of brick. The historic materials are consistent with those expected from a mid-nineteenth century site. Although no catalogs from the Brockington survey were available, the site form specifies that no prehistoric or historic materials were recovered from this area.

The walls of the fortification vary in height and thickness throughout the interior and exterior of the water battery. The interior walls average approximately 15 to 20 feet in height from ground surface, whereas the exterior walls average approximately 20 to 30 feet in height above ground surface. The interior and exterior walls average approximately 20 to 30 feet in width.[2] The northeastern portion of the site is well preserved whereas the southeastern portion is heavily eroded, eventually being incorporated into the landscaping of local property owners.

From the examination of Civil War period photographs of nearby Confederate batteries on Morris Island, Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg, it is obvious that the fortifications at Fort Lamar were an imposing structure to any enemy. As well, the study of Civil War period batteries must take into account either the defensive or offensive nature of these fortifications. This difference is quite evident from photographs taken during the Federal siege of Charleston on Morris Island (Hunt 1987:109-122) The construction of defensive fortifications, such as Fort Lamar, took a number of years to complete. Their purpose and construction was quite different from their offensive Federal counterparts which were constructed in about 60 hours (Hunt 1987:113).

No artifacts were collected or recovered from the area of the depression, determined from historical and archaeological data to be the water battery's unfinished bombproof. This depression measures 180 feet north-south by 170 feet east-west and approximately 4 to 6 feet in depth. Overall, this depression covers an area of

[2]These measurements are similar in to the wall dimensions found at the Union defensive fortification of Fort Howell, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. Constructed to protect the freedman settlement of Mitchellville, a topographical survey of the fortifications extant earthworks was conducted by Chicora Foundation in November 1996. (for an overview of fortification construction see Wright 1982).

Figure 28. Site 38CH1462 showing debris on surface, view to the west.

approximately 30,600 square feet. Unfortunately, relatively very little archaeological information is available concerning the construction of bombproofs in Civil War fortifications.

Although the historical data regarding the size of these structures seems to conflict, further research has found these structures to vary in size, probably according to need. The completed bombproof in the western section of Fort Lamar (See Gillmore 1865) measured approximately 225 feet by 90 feet, and covered an area of approximately 20,250 square feet (Butler 1994:53). It was suspected by Butler that this structure contained a subterranean component (Butler 1994:51-53). A historical account by Sergeant William H. Andrews states that "bombproofs were approximately 6 feet wide and excavated into the ground four feet" (Butler 1994:53). This depth coincides with the depth of the depression found southeast of the extant fortification found on Clark's Point. Union General Quincy A. Gillmore, whose forces occupied Fort Wagner and Fort Gregg, estimated that their bombproofs would hold 1,500 to 1,600 men (Hunt 1987:118). Again, it is obvious that bombproofs varied in size and that their size depended on their specific requirements.

As found in other studies of other Civil War period sites (Legg and Smith 1989:132-133), shovel testing often fails to reveal subsurface features or the extent of cultural remains. Military sites were often heavily policed according to military regulations (Trinkley 1996b; Legg and Smith 1989:130). This has been found to be true of encampments and it would follow that areas of military activity, in which the survival of military personnel was paramount, would also be well policed. Thus it is not surprising that few material remains were recovered from this site. If there is any potential to recover information concerning components related to the operation of the water battery, gun emplacement locations, or refuse features can be ascertained, then the site may be very significant in defining the everyday operation of a Civil War period defensive battery. Consequently, we recommend this site as eligible for inclusion into the National Register of Historic Places.

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The primary goal of these investigations was the identification and assessment of cultural resources on the 10 acre Secessionville Clark's Point tract of Martschink Realty Company. Located on James Island, this property was instrumental in the defense of Charleston during the American Civil War (Côté 1995; Judge 1992; Butler 1994, Trinkley 1996a, 1996b). Although diverse in its history, a secondary result of these studies was the enhancement of our knowledge concerning Civil War period fortifications and encampments along coastal South Carolina.

The initial phase of this study was an overview of historic resources. This work found that Clark's Point represented relatively isolated farmland associated with plantations dating at least back to the late eighteenth century. According to the Bache map of 1825 (Figure 10) and the Payne plat of 1841 (Figure 11) the main plantation settlement was consistently located in the area which is today private outparcels, south and southwest of the survey tract. The early slave settlement for the plantation was initially situated along the south edge of the peninsula, west of the main settlement. By the late antebellum the plantation slave settlement had been shifted northward, clustered onto about 4 acres of land west of the slough that forms the western boundary of the current survey tract (Trinkley 1996c). The remainder of the peninsula west of Clark's Point, during the antebellum period, appears to have only been used for cultivation. About 1851 the tip of the Secessionville peninsula was developed into a summer village for the islands planters. Just prior to the Civil War the village of Riversville, later known as Secessionville, contained eight residents.

The Civil War brought dramatic changes to the Secessionville Peninsula, particularly to Clark's Point. Several maps are particularly important to our understanding of the changes which took place within the project area. The Capers' map from 1862 (Figure 14) shows a series of seven houses south and west of Clark's Point, as well as a number of ancillary buildings to the north. The lack of topographic detail on this map tends to distort the physical location of Gaillard's camp found to be north of the settlement of Riversville and its actual location further east on Clark's Point. A correspondent's report in the New York *Herald* on June 28, 1862 contained a map (not reproduced in this study, but available in Côté 1995:81) very similar to the Capers map, including the topographic distortion. Once again, the Confederate encampment is shown somewhat west of its true location. The most accurate maps of Secessionville come from the end of the war, when Gillmore and his troops were mapping the site (Figures 18 and 19). While these fail to reveal any structures in the project area, they do clearly indicate that the construction of earthworks extended northeastward from Fort Lamar to the northeastern tip of Clark's Point. Perhaps of greatest assistance in understanding the Civil War development of Clark's Point is the 1865 photograph (Figure 20), which shows an extensive troop encampment being used by Freedmen on James Island.

Associated with this overview of potential resources, the files of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology were examined. Considerable research had been conducted on the project tract and two archaeological sites had been recorded by Brockington and Associates (38CH1457 and 38CH1462).

An inquiry was also made to the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, in compliance with their *Guidelines and Standards for Archaeological Investigations in South Carolina*. The purpose of this was to determine whether there were any previous architectural or historical surveys for the project area, or if there were any National Register sites recorded for the tract. We

knew that the Secessionville Historic District incorporated the road frontage north of Fort Lamar Road, although most of the district extended south of the project area. From all available evidence, the Clark's Point tract lies outside the boundaries of the district.

An archaeological field investigation was conducted on the Clark's Point tract on November 20-21, 1996. This survey included the excavation of 123 shovel tests on 13 transects. As a result of this study two previously identified archaeological sites were re-examined.

Cultural Resources Evaluation

38CH1457

The prehistoric component of site 38CH1457 was found to cover an area measuring about 500 by 350 feet and encompassed much of the survey tract. The relatively few prehistoric remains encountered, similar to those from other sites on the peninsula (38CH1460 and 38CH1461), span the Late Archaic through the Middle Woodland period. Not unlike other southeastern prehistoric sites within an agricultural context, this site exhibits materials which are entirely within the plowzone and are heavily fragmented and heavily eroded — characteristic of a plowzone context. No evidence of intact prehistoric deposits, or features being plowed out of intact deposits, were encountered.

The historic component of site 38CH1457 was found to lie primarily in the southern portion of the survey tract. This was a fairly dense scatter which extended from the western marsh edge eastward across the survey tract, to the western edge of the Fort Lamar water battery fortification (38CH1462). This site covers an area measuring 500 by 350 feet. Virtually all of this site was recovered from the fallow field of the survey parcel. Historic items were fairly numerous (somewhat more numerous than found by the original Brockington and Associates study) and the materials recovered indicate a mid-nineteenth century occupation. The original survey attributed the bulk of the historic remains to the presence of the Confederate encampment associated with the Fort Lamar water battery. We believe that many of the recovered items are consistent with a Civil War period occupation of the site. While there does not seem to be sufficient material in the survey tract to account for the houses shown in Seibert photograph (Figure 20), we are inclined to believe that much of the materials used in their construction, i.e. wood and brick, was removed shortly after the war for the construction of tenant houses and to open the tract for cultivation.

Although the material resources recovered from 38CH1457 appear to come from an area disturbed by cultivation they do reflect a mid-nineteenth century occupation. As well, the distribution of positive shovel tests yielding Civil War period artifacts closely agrees with the encampment layout as shown on the 1865 photograph and its correlation with the position of the extant Seabrook Rivers house. These data would suggest the possibility of intact deposits, sheet midden deposits, and perhaps architectural features.

As seen earlier, the fact that very little work has been done on military encampments and fortifications adds to the difficulty in assessing their status. Initial archaeological investigations of military sites tend to find a paucity of material remains. The combined use of pedestrian surveys, metal detection, and ground truthing in the form of shovel tests may not be the most effective method used for the location of significant deposits due to military discipline (Legg and Smith 1989:130; Trinkley 1996b). Quite often the results are ephemeral and belie the true nature of the site.[1]

[1] It is important, however, to realize that not all Civil War encampments present such a bleak view of material culture. For example, the Gloucester Point encampment in Virginia was easily discovered through the excavation of shovel tests at 20-foot intervals and the excavation of 5-foot units (Higgins et al. 1995:1, 25-26). Similarly effective results are reported by McBride (1994:138) using 50 centimeter square tests at 7 to 14 meter intervals. At least some encampments still present clear above-ground evidence of their existence (largely as modifications of the topography, see for example, Winters 1994:119 and Lesser et al. 1994:162, 165).

There are a broad range of questions appropriate to a site like 38CH1457, focusing on both the military encampment and the later freedmen's village. Studies like Legg and Smith 1989, as well as Higgins et al. 1995 and Bentz and Kim (1993) reveal that there is much to be learned about camp life from the exploration of Civil War archaeological sites (in fact, that is the central theme of Geier and Winter's *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War*). Central in these inquiries are an examination of military lifeways, use of idle time, foodways, and especially the comparison of Confederate and Union landscape.

The exploration of freedmen's villages is even more limited than the study of Civil War site. Chicora's work at Mitchelville (Trinkley 1986) remains the only major study of an intact village section, in spite of more recent work by Kennedy et al. (1991) and Mobley (1981). Research continues to focus on the shift from slavery to freedom, as well as the adoption of a cash economy and changes in African-American social structure.

We concur with the original survey recommendation that the historic component of 38CH1457 is eligible for inclusion on the National Register, satisfying criteria A (a property that is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history) and D (a property that has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in history).

For both Criteria A and D, location, design, materials, and association are the most relevant aspects of integrity.

Archaeological site 38CH1457 does, in fact, possess considerable locational integrity. The site is intact — it has not been damaged by highway construction, or plowing, or by used by borrow fill. It has not been seriously eroded. Unlike some other sites in the Secessionville area, its locational integrity is not diluted by later occupations, although admittedly it will be necessary to distinguish between Confederate camp assemblages and those created by freedmen. We anticipate, however, that these two will be recognizable based on context (feature fill as opposed to sheet midden, for example), if not actual content (freedmen assemblages will likely include Union items, such as buttons, but will probably not contain Confederate specimens).

Elements of design include organization of space, proportion, scale, technology, ornamentation, and materials, especially for Criterion A. For archaeological sites, integrity of design generally refers to the patterning of activity areas. In the case of 38CH1457 there is evidence that the brick remains are patterned along the main street shown in the 1865 photograph. In addition, two loci have been identified, which likely relate to the integrity of patterned remains. For Criterion D integrity of design typically means the ability to identify intra-site artifact and feature patterning. Again, the identification of brick rubble and artifact clusters suggests that the site does contain integrity of design.

Materials include the physical items that were deposited during the period of the site's use which form particular patterns or configurations. Integrity of materials is typically discussed in the context of intrusive artifacts, the completeness of the artifact and feature assemblages, and the preservation of features themselves. We must acknowledge that the current survey has provided only minimal information in these areas. Although the artifacts recovered are appropriate, we have not identified features. On the other hand, there is no evidence of unusual agricultural activities, there is no evidence of intrusive remains, and evidence from nearby sites (especially 38CH1456) certainly indicates the potential for features.

Integrity of association is that direct link between the historic event and the property. It is often evaluated, for historic archaeological sites, in the context of the relationship between the site's data sets and the research questions. For example, it typically requires a well stratified site to address chronological questions of change and adaptation. Although the survey has produced only limited data sets, those domestic remains identified are appropriate for the type of site represented and form the central core of many of the research questions. While testing might well be able to

expand our understanding of the data sets present at 38CH1457, the testing would likely expose the site to an increased level of looting. We believe that the cost of testing might out-weight its benefits. In terms of Criterion A, site 38CH1457 exhibits very high integrity of association since it can still convey a sense of feeling to an observer. The site exhibits no intrusive elements of development, and the topography and vegetation are essentially identical to what would have been present in the 1860s.

Based on these overviews of site integrity, be believe that the site is likely to be able to satisfactorily address the important research questions we have outlined for Civil War encampments and freedmen villages. Therefore, we recommend the site as eligible for inclusion on the National Register.

If green spacing of the site is not possible, data recovery is essential at this site. We recommend a combination of controlled hand excavations combined with mechanical excavation of large blocks to allow the identification, mapping, and recovery of features, specifically privies, wells, and structures.

38CH1462

Site 38CH1462, found in the northeast corner of the survey tract, is dominated by the Fort Lamar Clark's Point water battery and its associated unfinished bombproof (Figure 11). The site measures 300 feet north-south by 250 feet east-west and runs along the northeastern edge of Clark's Point. Its location makes it relatively isolated and self-contained. The portion of the site found to extend northwest along the marsh bank is no longer considered, archaeologically, a viable portion of the extant earthworks along the northeastern portion of Clark's Point. Based on the investigations at 38CH1456 (Trinkley 1996b), it is unlikely that this portion of the Clark's Point water battery earthworks, even if exposed, could provide significant information concerning Secessionville, the lives of the Confederate troops defending the site, or the science of military fortifications. Consequently, we do not recommend any additional investigation of this features.

However, the main portion of the site is in relatively good condition. Very few Civil War defensive fortifications have been investigated archaeologically and the study of the Fort Lamar water battery at Clark's Point would allow for the recovery of badly needed comparative data in the study of other Civil War period low country defensive works. There are two areas within the battery requiring discussion: the battery and its associated bombproof.

The extant portion of the Fort Lamar Clark's Point water battery is in good condition and represents a Civil War period earthwork defensive fortification. Not unlike the topographic survey and visual reconnaissance conducted at Fort Howell by Chicora Foundation in November 1996, no artifacts were recovered from the surface, although no excavation were undertaken. Based on comparative studies and the historical evidence, it might be reasonable to expect some evidence of occupation, as at least some troops were stationed in very close proximity to the gun emplacements. It is also likely that this area may produce remnant artillery items.

The unfinished bombproof lies just southwest of the main fortifications of the battery. Historical data, in the form of Gillmore's 1865 map and the Seibert photograph, does exist to help us interpret this feature. Although the exact angle of the photograph is unknown, this mound at the extreme left of the image cannot be the unfinished earthwork, as suggested by Côté (1995:105), based on approximate reconstructions of angles and fields of view. In addition, it seems unlikely that an unfinished bombproof, shown by Gillmore to essentially be little more than a shapeless excavation, would have such clear and distinct edges and angles. It seems more likely that this feature is the corner of the earthworks just southeast of the Seabrook-Rivers house.

Bombproofs tended to vary in size, probably according to need. The completed bombproof in the western section of Fort Lamar (see Gillmore 1865) measured approximately 225 feet by 90 feet, and covered an area of approximately 20,250 square feet (Butler 1994:53). It was suspected by Butler that this structure

contained a subterranean component (Butler 1994:51-53). A historical account by Sergeant William H. Andrews states that "bombproofs were approximately 6 feet wide and excavated into the ground four feet" (Butler 1994:53). This depth coincides with the depth of the depression found southeast of the extant fortification found on Clark's Point. Union General Quincy A. Gillmore, whose forces occupied Fort Wagner and Fort Gregg, estimated that their bombproofs would hold 1,500 to 1,600 men (Hunt 1987:118).

Mahan (1862:58-59) provides no size specification for either magazines or bombproofs. Magazines, he notes, will be constructed to suit the amount of ammunition they are intended to hold, while bombproofs may be built to protect troops, store provisions, or for any number of other purposes. Likewise, he describes techniques for both above ground and partially below ground works, noting that the below ground shelters are best in dry soils. It is obvious that bombproofs varied in size and construction technique, depending on their specific requirements.

Since the bombproof was never completed, it is unlikely that it will produce artifacts resulting from its use. It may, however, have served as a convenient trash dump for both the Confederate forces as they were leaving Secessionville and for the Freedmen who replaced them. In addition, the feature may also provide important engineering information on bombproof construction, essentially blending industrial and military archaeology. Mahan, for example, explains the use of both timber and fascines in the construction of these earthworks. It may be possible to explore this and other issues through the careful excavation of the feature.

Site 38CH1462 was originally assessed as potentially eligible with the justification that the site was "part of Fort Lamar [and] can be considered a portion of that listed NRHP property or a portion of the noncontiguous NRHP district that includes the outer defenses of Charleston" (S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 38CH1462 site form). This assessment, however, is inappropriate. Archaeological districts may contain discontiguous elements when both of two circumstances are met. First, if the outlying site has a direct relationship with the main portion of the district and second, when the intervening space does not have known significant resources. While the first circumstance is clearly met, the second is not, since there has never been an appropriate survey of the intervening area to determine if 38CH1462 is, in fact, isolated.

It seems more appropriate to recommend 38CH1462 as eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criteria D (that it has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in history) on its own merit, while recognizing that it might also be appropriate to amend the current district nomination to include 38CH1462 (as well as 38CH1457). In addition, as a significant component in the Confederate defense of Charleston, site 38CH1462 is also recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register under criterion A (a property that is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history).

This site must therefore be evaluated using the same criteria of integrity as previously discussed for 38CH1457 — location, design, materials, and association.

Locational integrity is very high. The earthworks and the bombproof are clearly recognizable and easily compared to Gillmore's map of the area. Specific portions of the earthwork are clearly identifiable, including the exterior slope, the superior slope, and the terreplein. The bombproof retains its excavated shape and is a consistent depth below the surrounding ground level.

Design integrity under Criterion A include the patterning of the features and activity areas. Site 38CH1462 exhibits clear design integrity — it is possible to relate the earthworks to the rest of the Secessionville water batteries, it is possible to associate the bombproof, as a feature, with the remainder of the military activities present at the site. The layout of the features are still clear and well-defined. For Criterion D we have rather

minimal evidence of intra-site artifact and feature patterning, although the shovel tests do reveal the presence of period artifacts associated with the gun emplacement.

Integrity of materials, for Criterion A, includes the use of appropriate materials and technology. Clearly the earthworks and bombproof exhibit high integrity of materials — there are no intrusive elements, the earthwork has not been reconstructed, the bombproof evidences no infilling or alteration. Under Criterion D, integrity of materials usually means the absence of intrusive artifacts and features and the quality of the artifact or feature preservation. Although we have only limited archaeological data, we believe the integrity is high. We failed to encounter any intrusive material and the fact that the earthwork features themselves are intact suggests that engineering details and features will also be present and recoverable through archaeological exploration.

Finally, integrity of association is that link between the past event and the site. Both the earthwork and the bombproof exhibit very high integrity of association for Criterion A. It is still possible to stand on the earthwork and understand its defensive importance, protecting Secessionville from water attack. In terms of Criterion D, there is a clear, and strong, link between the data sets present (largely engineering) and the questions which can be addressed. There is a high likelihood that the sites could provide important information on the construction, and use, of these features during the Civil War. It is also likely that the earthworks can help address questions of camp life, since it is likely that at least some domestic activity took place very close to the gun emplacement.

Based on this review of site integrity, we conclude that the site is likely to be able to satisfactorily address the important research questions we have outlined. Therefore, we recommend the site as eligible for inclusion on the National Register.

Green spacing is the most appropriate preservation measure for this site, especially since so much of it likely falls within the critical zone and would not be suitable for development. Recent clearing of the earthworks, however, has placed the site at increased risk of looting and erosion and these concerns must be addressed in a site preservation plan.

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